5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
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595 585 quent marriages, if the man had proved a good, kind husband to his first wife, other men, who thought a good deal of their daughters, might propose to give them to him, so that they would be well treated. The man sent over the horses to the new father-in-law's lodge, and the girl returned to his, bringing her things with her. Or if the man saw a girl he liked, he would propose for her to her father.

834 [584] [171] Among the Blackfeet, there was apparently no form of courtship, such as prevails among our southern Indians. Young men seldom spoke to young girls who were not relations, and the girls were carefully guarded. They never went out of the lodge after dark, and never went out during the day, except with the mother or some other old woman.

584 [593] [762] The girl, therefore, had very little choice in the selection of a husband. If a girl was told she must marry a certain man, she had to obey. She might cry, but her father's will was law, and she might be beaten or even killed by him, if she did not do as she was ordered. As a consequence of this severity, suicide was quite common among the Blackfoot girls. A girl ordered to marry a man whom she did not like would often watch her chance, and go out in the brush and hang herself. The girl who could not marry the man she wanted to was likely to do the same thing.

593 [684] [759] The man had absolute power over his wife. Her life was in his hands, and if he had made a payment for her, he could do with her about as he pleased. On the whole, however, women who behaved themselves were well treated and received a good deal of consideration. Those who were light-headed, or foolish, or obstinate and stubborn were sometimes badly beaten. Those who were unfaithful to their husbands usually had their noses or ears, or both, cut off for the first offence, and were killed either by the husband or some relation, or by the *I-kun-uh'-kah-tsi* for the second. Many of the doctors of the highest reputation in the tribe were women.

5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
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It is a common belief among some of those who have investigated the subject that the wife in Indian marriage was actually purchased, and became the absolute property of her husband. Though I have a great respect for some of the opinions which have been expressed on this subject, I am obliged to take an entirely different view of the matter. I have talked this subject over many times with young men and old men of a number of tribes, and I cannot learn from them, or in any other way, that in primitive times the woman was purchased from her father. The husband did not have property rights in his wife. She was not a chattel that he could trade away. He had all personal rights, could beat his wife, or, for cause, kill her, but he could not sell her to another man.

All the younger sisters of a man's wife were regarded as his potential wives. If he was not disposed to marry them, they could not be disposed of to any other man without his consent.

Not infrequently, a man having a marriageable daughter formally gave her to some young man who had proved himself brave in war, successful in taking horses, and, above all, of a generous disposition. This was most often done by men who had no sons to support them in their old age.

It is said that in the old days, before they had horses, young men did not expect to marry until they had almost reached middle life, — from thirty-five to forty years of age. This statement is made by Wolf Calf, who is now very old, almost one hundred years, he believes, and can remember back nearly or quite to the time when the Blackfeet obtained their first horses. In those days, young women did not marry until they were grown up, while of late years fathers not infrequently sell their daughters as wives when they are only children.

The first woman a man marries is called his sits-beside-him wife. She is invested with authority over all the other

5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
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595 [554] wives, and does little except to direct the others in their work, and look after the comfort of her husband. Her place in the lodge is on his right-hand side, while the others have their places or seats near the door-way. This wife is even allowed at informal gatherings to take a whiff at the pipe, as it is passed around the circle, and to participate in the conversation.

595 556 178 In the old days, it was a very poor man who did not have three wives. Many had six, eight, and some more than a dozen. I have heard of one who had sixteen. In those times, provided a man had a good-sized band of horses, the more wives he had, the richer he was. He could always find young men to hunt for him, if he furnished the mounts, and, of course, the more wives he had, the more robes and furs they would tan for him.

586 If, for any cause, a man wished to divorce himself from a woman, he had but to send her back to her parents and demand the price paid for her, and the matter was accomplished. The woman was then free to marry again, provided her parents were willing.

587 428 When a man dies, his wives become the potential wives of his oldest brother. Unless, during his life, he has given them outright horses and other property, at his death they are entitled to none of his possessions. If he has sons, the property is divided among them, except a few horses, which are given to his brothers. If he has no sons, all the property goes to his brothers, and if there are no brothers, it goes to the nearest male relatives on the father's side.

567 562 593 The Blackfeet cannot be said to have been slave-holders. It is true that the Crees call the Blackfeet women "Little Slaves." But this, as elsewhere suggested, may refer to the region whence they originally came, though it is often explained that it is on account of the manner in which the Blackfeet treat their women, killing them or mutilating their features for adultery and other serious offences.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

595 or more wives. Probably more than half of the men had at least two. In these polygamous households the husband's favorite, his "sits-beside-me-wife," accompanied him to feasts and ceremonies and supervised the work of the other women in her husband's home. Cautious men tried to minimize the dangers of jealousy and friction at home by marrying sisters. A husband of an eldest sister could expect the younger ones to be offered to him as they reached marriageable age, although he did not have to accept them. Double-Victory-Calf-Robe had two elder sisters, both of them married to Iron Horn. One day her father said to her, "My son-in-law, Iron Horn, is very kind and good to us. You had better marry him and be with your sisters." Her family outfitted a travois, helped her mount the travois horse, and she rode over to Iron Horn's lodge. He accepted her as his third wife and gave horses to her father.

593 Men were the undisputed lords of their households. They expected their wives to wait upon them hand and foot, to bring them food when they wanted it, to light their pipes and remove their moccasins. Some men beat their wives unmercifully with
586 their riding whips. If a wife found her husband's cruelty unbearable, her elder brother would take her back to her family. Any man who tired of his wife could send her back to her family. In either case the wife took her property with her and the marriage was dissolved.

837 An errant husband could bestow his favors where he wished, but an unfaithful wife, if found out, was in for real trouble. Even
627 though her husband might forgive her, he knew he could not
684 retain the respect of other men unless he took revenge upon her lover, either by killing him or taking his horses, weapons, and other valuables. More often the husband wreaked his vengeance upon his wife. If he was a member of a men's society, his fellow members helped him to shame her. They dragged her from his lodge out on to the plains at night and attacked her. Then they or her jealous husband cut off the end of her nose to mark her for the rest of her life as an unfaithful wife. In 1833, Maximilian observed that women with clipped noses were common in the

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

484 619 [203] move was to be made so that everyone would be in readiness to make an early start the next morning.[169]

In planning the movement of a Blackfoot band, the band chief consulted other prominent men of the band before announcing the move. He called upon certain individuals in the band to act as scouts, side, and rear guards.

484 791 [782] Among the Blackfoot the medicine pipe owner played an important role in camp movement. In dismantling his lodge on the morning of the move he placed his bundle at some distance from it if the move was to be a long one; he left it standing on its tripod near the lodge if the move was to be a short one. He took pains to point his pipe in the direction the camp was to go. Before he set out, the medicine pipe owner made a smudge and prayed for the safe journey of the camp, that no accident would befall any member and that no enemies would be encountered en route. The medicine pipe man led the main body when camp moved.[170]

PACKING UP

484 [462] [599] [595] Experience made the Blackfoot efficient in packing their belongings quickly on the morning camp was to move. Except for the lodge and bedding most items were packed ready for transportation before the morning of the move. They needed only to be tied in their proper places on horses or travois. This greatly expedited last-minute preparations. J. M. Stanley (1855, p. 448), who accompanied Low Horn's Piegan village of 90 lodges on its move southward to Fort Benton in the fall of 1853, wrote that "in less than an hour the whole camp was under way".[171]

As among other Plains Indian tribes Blackfoot packing of lodges and furnishings was women's work. In a household of several wives the husband's favorite wife served as job foreman, supervising the work of the other wives, the aged women, and grown girls of the

[171] [169] Laroque's description of movements of the entire Crow camp in the summer of 1805, reveals that Crow custom was similar to that described by living Blackfoot informants, at that early date. He observed that the principal chief consulted the other chiefs before deciding upon a move, then issued the order. That chief's lodge was the first to be taken down on the morning of the move (Laroque, 1910). Tixier (1940, p. 179) noted that heralds announced breaking of camp the night before the Osage hunting camp made a move during the summer of 1840. As early as 1776, the elder Henry (1809, p. 316) observed the Assiniboin chief's practice of notifying the camp of the next day's march in advance. My Kiowa informants stated that in that tribe the principal chief's decision was made known to tribal members through his announcer the night before camp movement, and that this chief led the procession when camp was under way.

[171] [170] Perhaps the Mandan and Hidatsa had a very similar custom. Alexander Henry (1897, vol. 1, p. 369), who accompanied these tribes on a visit to the Cheyenne in 1806, observed that Le Borgne's "grand pipe of ceremony" was carried at the head of the procession. Boller (1868, p. 277) noted that Poor Wolf "carried the pipe" and led the line of march when the Mandan-Hidatsa moved camp ca. 1860.

[171] [171] Denig (1963, p. 36) credited the Crow with being able to pack and start on the march in "less than 20 minutes."

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

household engaged in the task. Each family was responsible for its own belongings. Every article had its assigned place and means of transportation.

PACKING THE LODGE

The lodge was the bulkiest, heaviest, and most complex possession transported by the Blackfoot in moving camp. A century ago Denig (1930, p. 578) wrote that among the Upper Missouri tribes the size of the lodge was determined "by the number of persons to be accommodated or their means of transporting it." Two decades later Bradley (1923, p. 258) stated that Blackfoot lodge size varied according to the size "desired or the wealth of the occupants." Informants claimed the latter factor was of primary importance, for the larger the lodge the greater were the number of skins required for construction of its cover and the number, length, and basal thickness of the lodge poles necessary for its foundation. Consequently the larger the lodge, the greater the number of horses required to transport it.

Before the skin cover was replaced by the canvas one during the period 1870–85, Blackfoot lodges were sized according to the number of buffalo cowskins employed in the construction of the cover. The smallest lodge had 6 skins, the largest about 40 skins. Alexander Culbertson (in 1848) saw a lodge of 40 skins owned by the Blood chief, Seen-from-Afar, a wealthy owner of 100 horses and husband of 10 wives (Bradley, 1900, p. 258). None of my informants claimed to have seen a lodge larger than 30 skins. Weasel Tail said the average Blackfoot lodge numbered 12 to 14 skins, figures also cited by Wissler (1910, p. 100). A lodge of that size was 14 to 16 feet in diameter at the base and provided sleeping accommodations for a family of 8, with their baggage.

Informants said that skin lodges had less lodgepoles in proportion to their size than the more recent canvas lodges. Weasel Tail said 19 poles were used for support of a 14-skin lodge (4 main poles, 5 secondary ones on each side, 2 near the door, 1 at the center of the back, and 2 ear-support poles). Modern Blackfoot who set up canvas-covered lodges in their Sun Dance encampments take pride in the length of their lodgepoles. In many lodges the poles extend 4 or more feet above the crossing. They criticize shorter poles, saying they look "like a crop-eared horse." However, in buffalo days only the wealthy could afford the extravagance of poles much longer than were needed to support their covers.[73]

Wealthy families among the Blackfoot made new lodges every summer, before the Sun Dance encampment. Cowskins collected during

[73] Palliser (1863, p. 188) observed that Blackfoot lodges generally were larger and better furnished than those of the Cree, a tribe poor in horses. On the other hand, the horse-wealthy Crow tribe was renowned for having the finest lodges among the Upper Missouri tribes in buffalo days (Catlin, 1841, vol. 1, pp. 43–44; Lowie, 1922 a, pp. 222–223).

10: Lewis E-4 (no date) 1973 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Piegan chief.[119] Although this evidence is scanty it certainly is suggestive of an increase in the size of herds. What is most significant for our purposes is that by 1833, the time when the large markets for tanned robes in the States first developed, there already existed an accumulation of horses that made possible the ensuing expansion of polygyny. This expansion in turn perpetuated and intensified the social gradations that already existed, for men with large herds were the ones who could purchase many wives, and in the exchange thereby transform idle capital (surplus horses) into productive capital (women).

Following the growth of polygyny and the increasing importance of the bride price in horses we find that the age at which marriages occurred was also altered. There was a tendency for girls to marry at a younger age and for men to marry at a later age. In 1787 Thompson reported that girls usually married between sixteen and eighteen, and men at twenty-two or somewhat later.[120] In 1885, Rev. Wilson's informants told him that girls normally married at twelve.[121] Our own informants, speaking of the period of the latter half of the nineteenth century, placed the age of marriage for girls between ten and sixteen and that of men at thirty-five, rarely at less. It is during this period that we get the first cases of child marriage. Fathers now wished to marry off their daughters as early as possible in order to realize the bride price. On the other hand, men were not chosen as sons-in-law until they had accumulated sufficient property and had acquired a good reputation as a warrior or hunter.

The increase in the number of wives brought greater friction within the household. The effect of the sororate in eliminating hostilities diminished and at the same time the contrasts between the status of upper and lower wives were intensified. The native term for a wife lower than third or fourth means slave wife, which accurately describes their status. Lower wives performed the most difficult tasks, rarely put up Sun Dances, were most often beaten and most often suspected of adultery.

Social Organization

The fur trade stimulated inter-tribal intercourse. Tribes which had little contact with each other met at trading posts with the result of much borrowing and spreading of culture elements. A case in point is the borrowing of age grade societies by the Blackfoot from some of the village tribes to the south.

The historical material offers little in the way of positive evidence for the

[119] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

[120] Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

[121] Wilson, *Report of the Fifty-Seventh Meeting of the British Assoc. for the Adv. of Science*, Sept. 1885, p. 192.

10: Lewis E-4 (no date) 1973 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

at this time is intelligible in that they were an ideal mechanism for expressing and channelizing the vertical mobility which came with the increase in wealth.

Of great significance was the effect of the fur trade upon the authority of the chiefs. This varied at different periods in the history of the fur trade depending upon whether monopoly or competition prevailed. In periods of monopoly the fur trade had a positive effect, that is, it increased the prestige and authority of the chiefs. In periods of competition it had a disruptive effect, that is, it weakened the authority of the chiefs. The Hudson's Bay Company had had a well established trade with the Blackfoot. It had made it a matter of policy to deal only with the chiefs and headmen, and had conferred many honors upon them (medals, chief's coats, etc.) to enhance their authority over their followers. Since all trading with the whites had to be carried on through the chiefs and headmen it gave the latter a monopoly of white trading goods. With the increase in competition these conditions were altered. In order to gain a foot-hold the competitors of the Hudson's Bay Company brought their wares to the very tipi doors of the Indians and made their appeal to the younger men. The result of this policy is stated by Henry Jr.

"It is lamentable that the natives in general, in this country, have lost that respect they formerly had for their chiefs. The principal cause of this is the different petty co-partnerships which of late have invaded this country from Canada; the consequences are now serious to us as the natives have now been taught to despise the council of their elders . . . ."[117]

The competition between the fur companies was accompanied by sharp trading practices which the Blackfoot soon learned themselves. Franklin, writing from Fort Carlton where he met some Blackfoot in 1819, said,

"The mode of carrying on the trade (competition) is also productive of an increasing deterioration of the character of the Indians and will probably ultimately prove destructive of the fur trade itself. Indeed, the evil has already in part recoiled upon the traders, for the Indians long deceived have become deceivers in turn, and not infrequently after having incurred a heavy debt at one post, move to another, to play the same game."[118]

Another fur trader remarked that the authority of the elders had diminished to the point where fathers could no longer control the produce of their own sons.

"They are all remarkably proud of being great men but still they have little or no influence over the others . . . after making the father a chief, you are sometimes

[117] Henry and Thompson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 550.

[118] John Franklin, *Narrative of A Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea*, Vol. 1, pp. 130-131.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

The total income of the tribe had risen to $29,000.[144] Of this amount, one-half was derived from farm products including hay. The two were, in fact, almost synonymous, for only 51½ acres were still being cultivated.[145] The erratic subsistence farming was rapidly abandoned and the whole tribe turned to providing fodder for the new herds: "Almost the only occupations beside looking after the cattle and horses are hay making and freighting coal."[146]

Many factors encouraged the Blood to join in the haying experiment. First, a market existed both on and off the reservation: what the Indian herds did not need was sold to the Mounted Police or neighboring white ranchers. Second, there was no onerous cultivation. Except for a few irrigated acres, the hay that was cropped grew wild on the prairies. And finally, in a new setting, the haying camps recalled the great days of their hunting past. In the late summer, the tribe again made for the open range. Any man who owned a wagon, a team of horses, and a few implements, could be sure of some income from the new industry. Those who lacked even these few basic necessities could attach themselves to wealthier men. As in the earlier time, their labor would be rewarded by some small share in the harvest. Advantage still remained with the men of wealth, but participation was assured at a low level, and even the poor man had a chance.

The camps also strengthened, if only temporarily, bonds of family and band. The notorious Charcoal,[147] who had left his home in anger and moved far off by himself, joined the haying camp, again accepted the leadership of his brother and helped bring in the crop. Desire to share in the new wealth overcame violent intra-familial resentment.

In 1902, one-third of the adult males on the reserve owned cattle.[148] By 1909, practically every man could boast a cow. Numerous circumstances contributed to the more equitable distribution of wealth during the first decade of the century. Such industries as haying, hauling, or working in the beet factory were open to everyone. In 1905, beet fields were planted at Raymond,[149] and two years later the Blood earned $9000 topping beets and carting them to the factory.[150] And the report continues, "One of our Indians named Black Horse has a small coal mine on the banks of the St. Mary's River from which he makes his living mining and selling coal to the

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[144] *Ibid.*, Pt. 2, p. 228.
[145] *Ibid.*, Pt. 2, p. 220.
[146] *Ibid.*, Pt. 1, p. 132.
[147] Charcoal later murdered his wife's lover. He killed himself as he was about to be apprehended by the Agency police assisted by his own brothers.
[148] 1904, Vol. 11, No. 27, p. 237.
[149] 1905, Vol. 11, No. 27, p. 208.
[150] 1907-1908, Vol. 14, No. 27, p. 161.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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425 Easy access to good land is no longer possible, and the best of it has been allotted. A young and ambitious Blood must either turn again to wages, as indeed the sons of rich farmers have done, or if he is not content with the marginal land still available, he must wheedle an idle farm from a more [426] fortunate if less industrious tribesman. He may get it as a loan or on a rental [427] basis, but he is never certain how long he will be permitted to crop it. The more successful he is, the more eager the renter will be to reclaim his land [578] and try his hand at it again. Violent conflict and familial hostility frequently result.

556 184 CHANGING PRESTIGE FACTOR.—Distinctions between rich and poor are still drawn, and frequently these obscure expected behavior. The rich [606] daughter-in-law is served; the poor one does the work. The poor son-in-law is disparaged. Even the impoverished herder or unsuccessful farmer, in [581] memory of a better day, will storm when his daughter marries a poor orphan. A poor sister-in-law said of her rich one, "She always makes me [607] work for her at her house, but she never does anything when she visits me." A poor young wife who may make a simple and justified request will be sarcastically told, "Go home, you *minipoka*." The real "favorite" may exploit his childhood privilege in the face of little criticism even after he has reached adulthood.

593 937 577 556 184 The beautiful and discontented wife of a poor man may brazenly flaunt her affair with her rich lover, but the unhappy wife of a rich man will find some more dignified way of showing her dissatisfaction. When her husband philanders, she may refuse to cook his food; she may roll up in her own blanket and deny him his conjugal rights; she may leave him, or she may entertain his mistress, ply her with fine gifts, and receive the approbation of society "because she shows no jealousy."

[575] A chief or member of the Horn Society is also roundly applauded when he shows no jealousy; but the poor husband who sits by and silently witnesses the drunken love-making of his wife and her rich lover receives no [593] respect for his restraint. A spoiled and wealthy woman may forbid her [584] "favorite" the house; she may take his horses and disinherit him if she disapproves of his marriage. A woman less economically secure, even if she is known as "manly-hearted," may uphold the authority of her "favorite" at all cost, as the one sure means of maintaining family prestige.

557 The advantages of a good marriage are quickly recognized. A wealthy Pointed Plume will say, "All women chase a rich man." A poor William Curtis will say, "A man should marry his daughter to someone who can take care of her."

178 581 But the changing status of various groups within Blood society is strikingly revealed by an analysis of marriage trends. Thirty years ago marriages still followed the earlier pattern. The wealthy cattle men continued

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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In 1808, Henry wrote in his journal, "The women appear to be held in slavery and stand in awe of their husbands."[179] Their work, was indeed hard and long. They cooked the meals, treated the skins, sewed them into clothing and tipi coverings, raised and lowered these cumbersome shelters, and saw to the transportation of family goods on the march. "The young men," again comments Henry, "appear proud and haughty, and are particular to keep their garments and robes clean. The women are a filthy set."[180]

Yet even in this hunting and raiding society of the past, women enjoyed a comparatively strong position—and this despite their onerous duties, the payment of a bride price, the continual suspicion and accusation of adultery, the harsh punishment for a breach of fidelity.[181] For in those not too distant days, a woman could lead a war party; she could be designated a favorite; she could own property, receive and exercise medicine power, and give names. She was a necessary part of every ceremonial transfer; she was the custodian of the bundles that her husband bought. The public initiation of the Horn Society still dramatises the man's dependence. It is the wife who receives the power from the seller. Her husband can only gain possession from her.

Above and beyond the pressure of the reserve, the Blood woman has maintained this early importance. Although differently expressed, she is today, as she was in the past, a valuable asset. Her tanning and bead-work make a great show on ceremonial occasions; she runs her husband's home and participates in his transactions; she keeps her earnings and has considerable say about his; she chooses her partner in the social dance; she is still a necessary adjunct to his ceremonial life. Undeterred by the threat of punishment, she accepts flirtatious advances and often initiates them. She is secure in her womanhood.

But like the man, it is the rich woman in particular, although sometimes the beautiful one, who is arrogantly sure of herself. A rich woman is spoiled and demanding. A beautiful one will not hesitate to take another woman's husband or flaunt her lover before her own when he cannot satisfy her with handsome clothes. Rich or poor, she may leave her husband at will; but the fathers of the poor are apt to urge their daughters to remain, while fathers of the rich have frequently been known to take them home "because their husbands didn't treat them right."[182]

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[179] Henry and Thompson, *Journals*, p. 526.

[180] *Ibid.*, p. 525.

[181] *Ibid.*, p. 572. Cf. also Maximilian, *Travels*, p. 383; Bradley, *Characteristics*, p. 271; and Wissler, *Social Life*, p. 10 ff.

[182] *Ibid.* Wissler quotes a Piegan as saying, ". . .if a man who gives a few presents or pays nothing becomes exacting, the woman's relatives will remark that as he paid little or nothing he should desist; they may even take her away and find another husband for her."

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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175 another."[187] More leniency was shown to the partner in sin. Maximilian
684 continues, "Often he avenges himself on the paramour, takes away his horse or other valuable property, to which he must submit quietly."[188]
684 Today infidelity, or suspicion of it, are also severely punished. Beatings are frequent; one old lady still carefully conceals her mutilated face behind her shawl; and Big Head, recently released from prison, killed his wife because rumors of her misconduct had reached him during his confinement.[189]

593 937 Absence from home is perhaps the greatest threat to a man's marital peace. His present fears echo attitudes of the past, grounded in an economy that made more or less long separations between husband and wife inevitable. The small raiding or hunting parties, which might include the husband, left plenty of men available for romance. Today, although life is more sedentary, dwellings are isolated. A few hours in the field, a trip to town, are enough to kindle the flame. But it is the jail sentence, that frequent experience, which most nearly approximates the extended absences of a former time. Legal protection from a surprise return adds to the safety of wifely adventure; it also intensifies the fears of the ever-suspicious husband.

593 152 578 [577] [865] [181] Some few women are notoriously jealous of their husbands, but primarily it is the men who exhibit the greatest sexual insecurity. A man who shows no jealousy is considered brave; yet a young mother eager to see her son of six become a good fighter will proudly encourage him when he shakes his fist in fury at an old medicine man whom he considers his "rival." From earliest babyhood, a child is exposed to the violent quarrels of his parents. He hears his mother's virtue assailed; he sees his father beat her for misbehavior. Against such a background and such conditioning, traditionally desirable attitudes are achieved with difficulty. In this society, jealousy has become obsessional; even chiefs find it difficult to act within the prescribed pattern, and serious lapses are not unknown.

593 578 152 831 [575] [572] Few men trust their wives. A seemingly contented husband of twenty years will, at the first sign of anger, hurl accusations of infidelity at his mate. One husband refuses to permit his wife to remove her shawl in her own house for fear she will succumb to the casual advances of some passerby. Another will suspect his wife of indiscretions while he is busy not one hundred yards away; still another will insist that his wife ride a horse at his side (an unwomanly occupation) so he can keep her within sight. Some will refuse to enter the Horn Society, because they feel unable to suppress their jealousy, as they are expected to do during their term of membership. A man will quickly, and often with little reason, accuse a brother of being his wife's lover. "You may joke," they say, "with your *taka's* wife, but if you

[187] Maximilian, *Travels*, p. 253.
[188] *Idem*.
[189] Letter to Harry D. Biele in September, 1939.

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joke with your brother's, it means you are in earnest." The only Blood confined to the insane asylum, whose case was not complicated by physical causes, attempted to murder his wife because he believed she was having intercourse with a ghost. Many a husband, approaching his end, threatens his mate with death, for only when she accompanies him on his final journey can he be sure that in the next world he alone will possess her.

Husbands, who need proof of good behavior and who can afford to pay for it, may insist that their wives "vow the tongues"[159] or put up the Sun Lodge, for only those who are chaste before and faithful after marriage can do so with impunity. Sometimes, however, the pressure may be so great, that a woman must take a chance. Urged by her husband who remained unconvinced concerning her virginity at marriage, Weasel Girl distributed the tongues at the Sun Dance. Her husband's uncle, noting that she failed to mention the names of any men she had rebuffed, suspected her avowal, and threw his piece of meat to a dog at his side. Later that evening, this dog was shot while making off with a chicken. His alertness and caution had saved him, the uncle was certain, from a sure and untimely death. That Weasel Girl, herself, only lived three years longer was further evidence that she had lied.

Suspicion is not always without cause, as it may well have been in this instance. The most casual encounter, the social dances in the dance hall, even the Sun Dance, offer innumerable opportunities for illicit adventures, and these are not missed. Many a husband has found his wife with her lover. But so obsessed are they by their suspicions, that every possibility of adultery immediately becomes a fact.

Informal wife-lending among the Blood is inconceivable whether to a casual friend[161] or a life-long "*taka*." Yet this act which cannot be tolerated in daily living, is ritually sanctioned when the sorcery roots are purchased by members in the Horn Society.[162] At this time, the wife of the buyer deposits her clothes in her husband's lap. Protected by a buffalo robe, she is taken to the tipi of the seller and ceremonially painted. She then "goes

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[159] Wissler, *Blackfoot Sun Dance*, p. 234 ff.

[160] Henry in his Journal (vol. 2, p. 526) states that the Blackfoot were a "nuisance in offering women." Wissler (*Social Life*, p. 10) observes that he believes these women were captives.

[162] Among the neighboring Cree the opposite situation existed. They practised informal wife exchange. D. G. Mandelbaum (*The Plains Cree*, p. 348) writes: "This relationship reflected considerable honor upon the participants, for only the most stout-hearted men could become intimate companions of their wives' paramours." But in a ceremony called Sitting Up Until Morning (*ibid.*, p. 226) although the "warriors of one society issued invitations to the wives or daughters of the members of other societies" and "at dawn, the men washed and painted the women's faces,

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on the sacred walk."[183] Returning, she gives the sinister root which she has received from her nocturnal partner to her uneasy husband.

The interval of waiting is among the greatest trials of the Blood. The anxious husband must show no jealousy during the "walk"; he must joke with his fellow members and suffer their teasing without taking offense. So great is this strain that some are unable to bring themselves to the test; others hire a substitute wife, although the added cost may be considerable.

The Blood are not overly engrossed with sorcery, perhaps because black magic may act as a boomerang, perhaps because hostility is quickly and overtly expressed, perhaps because their way of life brought numerous and tangible rewards. But some standard of values is suggested by the fact that the greatest power to hurt others is acquired by submitting to what they believe entails the greatest personal suffering—the possession of one's wife by another. Its institutionalization in the Horn Society in no way relaxes the sexual tensions among the people at large; it merely succeeds in heightening them for the few who want to purchase the most feared power available to the Blood.

Writing on the relations between Blackfoot men and women, Wissler observes, "We found no traces of the conventional modes of registering conquests as among the young men of the Dakota and Village Indians."[184] Victims of a monotonous poverty, these more easterly tribesmen readily transferred a symbol from their glamorous past to the one remaining area of competition, sex. The counting of coups over amorous successes may well have seemed unnecessary, and even ridiculous, to the more exuberant Blood whose daily routines gave them many other ego satisfactions.

MARITAL INSTABILITY.—Psychopathic possessiveness and aggressive behavior, however, offer a poor foundation for a satisfactory or enduring marriage. In 1909, a worried agent, after discussing the difficulties arising from drink, observed, "The morality question is at present a more serious one on this reservation, the transgressors very principally young married people who, after quarrelling separate and insist upon availing themselves of the old tribal right to take other partners."[185] The instability of early marriage can be easily documented. A Dancing Bird, beautiful if undiscriminating, consoled ten "husbands"; a wilful Mary Red Bear boasted

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combed their hair, and gave them a gift. . .no sexual license is permitted during this occasion."

The attitudes and values of the two tribes are nicely revealed in the following incident from a tale: A Blackfoot visiting a Cree makes him a present of a horse. In return, the Cree offers him his wife.

[183] Cf. Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, p. 413 ff. Also Harry D. Biele, Field Notes.

[184] Wissler, *Social Life*, p. 9.

[185] 1909, Vol. 43, No. 15, p. 169.

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at least two unions before she settled down with the youngest son of a wealthy chief. 593 837

But even a long interlude of adaptation may end in abandonment. A Bob Double Man still believes in loving and leaving; a Pointed Plume, after an alliance of twenty-two years, again sows his wild oats; a Henry Dennis deserts his wife and seven young children for a younger and handsomer woman; and a Mrs. John White Bull changes partners at will, returning unconcernedly to a cast-off husband when a new one proves unsatisfactory. 581

Many, however, stick it through; but within the frame of a monogamous marriage, they are able to reëstablish the polygamous past with considerable success. Not infrequently a woman, whose husband is safely behind prison bars for drunkenness or cattle stealing or assault, will spend the time of waiting with an "interested" and hospitable relative. Her position in his household is not unlike that of the "second wife" in an earlier day. She may, now as then, give needed domestic aid, but more often she remains a demanding and quarrelsome interloper fighting the "legal" wife for the husband's favor. 593 837 595 178 [578]

When a more stable relationship is sought without disturbing the formal bonds of marriage, a mistress's husband may also be invited into the home as farm worker or cattle hand. He watches his arrogant employer delight his wife with gifts and make love to her in drunken orgies. To him, dignified silence at these spectacles establishes his bravery; to them, he remains a weakling to be ignored and laughed at. 593 837 [577]

Most often, however, separation, either permanent or temporary, is the ready answer to incompatibility. From the standpoint of familial stability, the latter may well be the more devastating. One detailed description of alternating breaks and reunions follows: 586

In the four months that Pointed Plume was living with his "new wife" Laura and her baby daughter, they separated as many times. Twenty years his junior, small, compact, but looking his contemporary, she industriously prepared his meals, jerked the meat, made pemmican, preserved the fruits, and did the family washing. A neighbor said, "Pointed Plume's new wife is a good worker. She likes to please the old man. She does everything for him." But another commented, "They are not getting on very well. Laura's first marriage with Big Shield broke up because she was so jealous; her marriage with Tom Bacon broke up for the same reason. Now after three months she is accusing White Plume of running with other women. She even suspects him when he is paid to drive a man and his wife to town in his car." The neighbor spoke from intimate knowledge. After quarreling with her husband, Laura had been set down along the roadside. On reaching Cardston she rushed to the parked car, and shouted at her astonished neighbor who was sitting there alone, "Pointed Plume and your wife are sweet- 593 [586] [577] [586] [152] 593 586 152 578

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593 586 152 578 hearts." After this public exhibition, she jumped into the front seat, quietly to await her mate's return. When Pointed Plume saw her there, he climbed in beside her, and conforming to Blackfoot custom in crises, "said nothing." The friend, however, made his own deductions. "They won't stay together long," he observed to his wife.

Nor did they. Several weeks afterwards, coat-tails flying in the early morning breeze, swinging a valise and preceded by his two small granddaughters who had been staying with him, White Plume hurried down the gully to a relative's house. In his tent sat Laura, badly beaten and bruised. "Pointed Plume," she said, "is a very *jalose* man. Even if he is rich, I do not want to stay with him." The day before, Joe Curtis, just separated from his young wife and on his way to visit his mother, had passed Laura's tent. She emphatically denied that he had entered, but her protestations did nothing to allay her husband's suspicions. He took the usual painful measures.

When Laura and her daughter were finally set down at her relatives, Frank Newall who was working outside just looked up and "said nothing." It was all in a day's work to have a woman and child dropped on your doorstep before ten in the morning.

A few days later she was back. Again she was beaten and left. Again she returned, this time beautifully dressed and bedecked with jewelry. Apparently, she had made a new decision: it was good to live with a rich man, even if he were "*jalose*."

It may be that this is an extreme case, that Pointed Plume and Laura were both unusually suspicious, that Pointed Plume was particularly irascible and violent. But they were not the only ones among our friends who settled matrimonial difficulties during our stay by separation and, at times, reunion.

Marion Curtis was deposited one night at her parents' house by an angry husband. It was whispered that he had found her standing compromisingly close to his farm hand. A week later, after a consoling interlude at a rodeo, he returned. Without further explanation, Marion announced that she was leaving with him that night.

The seemingly happy marriage of Joe Duck-Bill suddenly went on the rocks. So did that of a neighbor's son. A good friend confided her desire to leave her ailing husband. He volunteered that in years past she had done so more than once.

593 578 How basic a security can develop in such a turbulent atmosphere is difficult to determine. But despite frequent quarrels and separations, despite a limited emphasis on such socially desirable virtues as cooperativeness, mutual trust and loyalty, marriages of ten, fifteen, and twenty years dura-

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tion are not uncommon. It may be that a quick adaptability when the game is worth the candle assures a reasonable stability in this brittle society.

Children and Adults

Quoting Harmon in his Journal, Henry writes: "To see a house full of drunken Indians, consisting of men, women, and children, is a most unpleasant sight, for in that condition they often wrangle, pull each other by the hair, and fight. At some times ten or twelve, of both sexes, may be seen fighting each other promiscuously, until at last, they all fall on the floor. . . . To add to this uproar, a number of children, some on their mother's shoulders, and others running about and taking hold of their clothes, are constantly bawling, the elder ones, through fear that their parents may be stabbed, or that some misfortune may befall them in the fray."[106]

In 1939, we were the unwilling observers of a no less disturbing scene. Early on a clear moonlight night in August, loud shouts rent the air. Silhouetted against the canvas of the only tent in view, were the struggling figures of two men, the brothers Pointed Plume. Since their father's separation from his wife of more than twenty years, their loyalties had been engaged on opposite sides. Argument between them was frequent. This time, the fight, abetted by drink, grew wild and noisy. Pushing through the flap, the brothers tumbled into the open. The tug-of-war continued. Someone tried to start the car; doors banged; glass crashed. The young mothers holding tightly to their babes cried out; the older children shrieked in terror. The fight continued, this time again inside the tent. Finally, physical restraint (one brother was tied up with the able assistance of a brother-in-law) and exhaustion brought peace shortly after midnight.

By morning the car was gone. At seven, the little Pointed Plume girls, nine, and eleven, were industriously and silently removing broken glass, the only evidence of the previous night's hostilities. At eight, the family went off to the river for a quiet picnic.

In many respects, present-day conditions differ radically from those of Harmon's time: agriculture and herding have replaced hunting and food-gathering; living is sedentary and dwellings are scattered. Yet the basic individualism and unpredictable tempers that characterised the Blood a century and a half ago are still apparent today. And children are still exposed to conflict and violence.

Two young daughters of this same family were present when their grandfather beat up his new wife; his adopted "favorite" had witnessed his domestic differences with his old one. Several youngsters stood beside us

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[106] Henry and Thompson, *Journals*, footnote 21, Vol. 2, p. 575.

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593 578 while their great-aunt struck their father with a tent-pin when he ordered her off his land. They heard their mother accuse her near-relative of sexual indiscretions; they joined their usually mild grandmother as she threw stones at her sister-in-law's departing car.

152 593 There can be little doubt that children are sensitive to such violent exhibitions, but their reactions vary considerably from situation to situation and from child to child. They may stand by seemingly unmoved, or they may join the fray with considerable enjoyment. They may shriek in fear, as the Pointed Plume children did the night their father and his brother fought so furiously. They may cry continuously, as the Dennis children did at school, because their parents' quarrels had frightened them [115] so that they didn't want to return home while their father was there. Annie Curtis, a dignified informant of thirteen, gave it as her considered opinion that "girls minded their parents' quarrels more than boys."

857 858 This may well be so. Training and social sanctions make it easy for the boy to escape an uncongenial home situation. At an early age he learns to ride a horse, at ten he is expected to help his father on the range or in the field. His frequent absences from home cause little comment. Two independent males, one eight, one eleven, laughed at us when we suggested that they tell their mother we were taking them for a swim. Girls' work, on the other hand, ties them to the house. They tend their little brothers and sisters; they learn to cook, to sew, to do beadwork. Only a few have the hardihood to face the certain disapproval that descends upon them when [593] they stay out over night, even at a relative's. Bound to their homes by work [578] and convention, they are more exposed than their young brothers to parental quarrels. They may see themselves not only as the little mothers of [155] today, but as the cruelly beaten wives of tomorrow.

593 591 578 Frequently there is no way for boy or girl to avoid an unpleasant scene; but whenever possible, a child will seek a refuge—for a short time if the trouble blows over quickly—for years if it does not. Nellie Bending-Branch lives with her grandmother because her parents quarrel so much. May Big Water has spent most of her days at her grandmother's largely because her father and stepmother fought so frequently. Pointed Plume's adopted "favorite" returned to her own parents when he and his wife quarrelled seriously before separation.

[855] At times, a child is the terrified observer of parental conflict; at times, he is the unhappy victim of parental cruelty. Not infrequently, upon the remarriage of a mother, the children will remain with their grandparents, "because their stepfather might not be good to them." Stepmothers were viewed with equal misgivings, and not without cause. But there are also cases of children so mistreated by an own mother or father, that they have to be rescued by more compassionate, if more distant relatives.

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"The Blackfoot are very fond of their children," wrote Maximilian in 1832;[197] and it would be utterly misleading if today we minimised the passionate warmth that most Blood lavish upon their children, particularly upon their younger offspring and their favorites. But where families are easily broken, where abandonment is not unusual, and where a child on his own initiative frequently seeks a parent substitute, the parent-child relationship necessarily lacks the intensity that distinguishes it in our culture. The trauma of separation is reduced as well as the child's resentment against the parent who has acted without much consideration for his well-being. Not that the hurt is forgotten nor even entirely forgiven, but a Julia Curtis will eagerly recount a visit to a mother who left her at nine to the ministrations of a paternal aunt and married a man on another reserve; a Ned Sloane will speak lovingly of the grandmother who urged that he be "thrown away" because he had caused his mother's death in childbirth; a Myrtle Pointed Plume will show no animosity toward her adopted father (actually her grandfather) although he insisted after she had spent eleven years as a *minipoka* in his household, that she remain with her own parents when he took another wife.

Early in childhood preference patterns are established and these function quickly in time of small strain or great crisis. One mother said that her eldest son always went to the home of his father's mother's sister when trouble was brewing; she herself spent much of her girlhood both before and after her mother abandoned her father, at her father's sister's. Another, speaking of her various children, said, "Myrtle is her grandfather Pointed Plume's favorite; Fanny is her grandfather William's favorite; Rosalie is her grandmother Julia's favorite; Harold is his father's favorite and Otis is mine." Only one, the eldest, was a true *minipoka* (she had been adopted by her paternal grandfather so he could more easily honor her and, what was equally important, continue to enhance his own prestige); but each of the others felt secure in his own brand of favoritism even if it was less ostentatiously expressed.

Despite their informal status, these lesser favorites expected the same privileged treatment from their warm supporters that true favorites received from theirs, and within reason they were not disappointed. When Julia's Rosalie, a child of seven, spilled water and came weeping to her grandmother because she was afraid her sister Myrtle *might* tell on her (which incidentally she showed no disposition to do), the grandmother's only comment as she took the little girl upon her knee was, "Myrtle is so spoiled."

Boys may find a haven with an older sister, but a young girl would hesi-

[197] Maximilian, *Travels*, p. 232.

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tate to enter a household where she is considered a "distant wife." In most instances, an aunt who has weathered the domestic storms of the early years of marriage, or a grandmother or great-aunt are the preferred relatives.

Adoption brings renewed hope of security to those children who have been orphaned or deserted, for the society deals none too kindly with these unfortunate ones. Frequently, they become slaveys in the families that take them in. Rarely, if ever, do they have an opportunity to make a "good" marriage. Once adopted, however, their status is immediately improved. They take their chances with the rest of the children. Some, like the youngest son of the old chief, Red Crow, may even be made an honored favorite. All expect to share in the family wealth.

Primarily, however, adoption serves the advantage of the older generation. A childless pair may take as their own the child of a fecund couple in the hope that then their union will be similarly blessed; or, having lost a loved one in death, the sad parents may feel that their only consolation lies in substitution. But to the question, "Why do you adopt children?" a Blood will most often answer, "We adopt children so someone will take care of us in our old age." And so important is this old age insurance that a poor child will be sought in preference to one with property: "If a child has property, he will leave us when he grows up." In this competitive society, the old have little confidence that the man of property will share it with them, even if he is an adopted son.[188]

The child, who probably never felt too secure at home, is now separated from his parents when he is six or eight and placed in one of the two sectarian boarding schools on the reservation. If his home is nearby, he may have visitors but most of the children, at least in the winter months, have little if any contact with their relatives. Some remain at school the year round. For all, however, it is a partial break with Blood tradition and culture.

Ironically enough, in this increasingly individualistic society, it is these boarding schools that offer the most extended experience in joint living and cooperation. Among other things, they have encouraged the girls to take *taka*. But their general emphasis is so contrary and their strict authoritarianism so foreign to the normal patterns of Blood life that their socializing influence is negligible. To a few children they have been havens from abuse or family discord, but even those who have benefited most from prolonged schooling (because they were poor or orphaned) suit their behavior in later life, not to their teachers' precepts, but to their social station.

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[188] K. A. Wittfogel (*Wirtschaftsgeschichtliche Grundlagen der Entwicklung der Familienautorität*, pp. 491, 506) points out that lack of security in old age is frequent in societies where the satisfaction of basic needs depends on "physical strength" rather than on "careful thought and accumulated experience."

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At school a child is cut off from his home. At home, because of the distances between homesteads, he is cut off from the easy companionship of his age-grade, a companionship that developed naturally in the play camps of an earlier day and remained a continuing force for stability in the community. But even more disconcertingly, he is frequently cut off from those favored relatives from whom he expects unquestioning affection and support, while at the same time he is more intensely exposed to familial dissension. In time of trouble he still escapes, but often the only comfort possible is "going outside" and fighting it out alone, a convenient though perhaps not entirely satisfactory preparation for manhood.

Escape, in this violent society, is a necessary mechanism to relieve tension; but it is also a simple way to avoid responsibility. When Pansy Curtis cut her brother's neck while trimming his hair, she bound it with a towel and ran off to the house of her father's aunt without telling anyone; when she put all her aunt's fresh meat through the chopper instead of hanging it up to dry, she left her small cousin to bear the blame and hastened off to her father in the fields. When Charlie Bruce hacked off his sister's thumb, he stuck it on with axle grease and ran away before his grandmother returned; when he finished slaughtering a new-born calf before his admiring playmates, he left them to confess the crime and hurried to a forgiving aunt.

Patterns of escape established in childhood are repeated in adult life. Most situations are met by avoiding blame, shifting it, running away. The man who murdered his wife in 1939, immediately left his house to visit a neighbor. There he exhibited his gashed hand and said, "I got this while I was taking the butcher knife from my wife. She tried to kill me." But he failed to mention that she was lying mutilated and unconscious on the kitchen floor. The boy who was jailed for intoxication claimed that the bottle was not his and that he had not drunk a drop. When domestic conflict arises, either wife or husband leaves, sometimes temporarily, sometimes forever. Relatives and reserve may intervene, but "to go on a trip" is still the most favored solution in case of difficulty.

Siblings

The basic competitiveness of the society is frequently expressed in the sibling relationships. The institutionalization of the favorite inevitably creates an overtly rivalrous situation. Among the Teton Dakota, who call their privileged ones "child-beloveds," this situation for a variety of reasons is muted,[199] but among the Blood, the exploitation of the "child of plenty" for purposes of prestige has been completely uninhibited.

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[199] Goldfrank, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

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593 858 Favorites are well aware of the envy their position arouses in their less petted brothers and sisters. One said,

> My father treated me with great affection. Others in the household obeyed him, but he often gave in to me. When I was little he carried me on his back so I wouldn't tire. He always took me with him and never said a mean word to me. Whenever I cried I was picked up immediately. When my mothers were cooking, I was allowed to go to the pot first and select the choicest morsel. All this showed I was a favorite son.
>
> I often fought with my little sister. Although my mother was sorry for her and sometimes tried to take her away when she was getting the worse of it, she would never punish or scold me. My sister always grabbed at my necklace. If she ripped it off, she would hide it, but my father always made her give it back to me. My sisters fussed about the special treatment I was getting. They were jealous and complained that our father wasn't treating them fairly.

593 858 578 Other unprivileged siblings have also been impelled to show their dissatisfaction. At a favorite's birthday feast attended by some fourteen old and respected members of society, a cake with candles (!) was proudly carried in. A young sister of the birthday child quickly blew them out. Neither the tearful protests of the *minipoka* nor a slap in the face diminished the unconcealed pleasure of the culprit. "If I blow out the candles," she said gleefully to the outraged favorite, "it is my birthday, not yours."

A little boy of six asked his father with pathetic eagerness, "Won't you have me for your *minipoka*, as my grandfather has my sister Myrtle?" Then gazing at his unshod feet, he added ruefully, "I cannot be a *minipoka*, I have no shoes." A stepson so resented the attention his stepfather lavished on his own daughters, who were favorites the "American way," that he left home to live with a married sister.

593 858 556 To be sure, not all families have favorites either in the traditional terms of in the "American way," but the pattern is so deeply ingrained in the struggle for wealth and recognition that it colors the thoughts and speech of many whose families have never been able to support a *minipoka*. One man went so far as to say, "A poor person might part with his last horse to buy a ceremonial object for his child in the hope that he would then be called a *minipoka*."

593 578 Rivalry, however, finds frequent expression even when "real" favoritism is not involved. A little girl of two threw her newborn brother from the bed and tried to strangle him. A young mother told how, as a child, she allowed her little sister's wagon to roll down hill, turn over, and spill the youngster in the mud because "she was so spoiled when she was sick." A grandmother recalled her resentment when her father gave a fine weasel-tail suit to an older sister and brought candy to a younger brother, despite the certain knowledge that food given to one sibling would surely be shared with all the others. A brother complained that his parents always gave in to his

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sister and never did what he wanted. Many a son leaves his father's house to live with a married sister because he "can't get along with his brothers."

The age-grade is an important mechanism for solidarity, but alternate grades of the men's societies call each other "fighters." Their actions fulfill expectancy. One man, accused of beating his wife excessively, said in extenuation that he couldn't stand the taunts of his "fighters" who continually reminded him of her pre-marital promiscuity. The conflicts and insult techniques that rule between "fighters" are projected upon the family. Quarrels between young children are explained on this basis. A young boy of nine was tussling more or less playfully with his sister's son aged six. The father of the elder boy, who at the same time was the grandfather of the younger, said, "They just can't get along together. They are fighters." Brothers, merely because of age difference, frequently find themselves in opposite camps.

This institutionalization of hostility, however, only reinforces behavior patterns implicit in the basic structure of the society.[399] Rivalrous attitudes, rooted in the conflicting interests and individualistic goals that dominate the society as a whole, are freely expressed in childhood. They are strengthened by early training. They are nourished in adulthood by differences over property, whether in women, animals, or land. Some brothers have not spoken to each other for more than a decade. Mutual assaults are frequent and fraternal murder is not unknown. Familial attachment created no problem in loyalties for Yellow Wolf when he assisted in the police hunt for his notorious brother, Charcoal.

But when economic advantage demands cooperation, hostility may be repressed, if only temporarily. This same Charcoal, after a serious break with Yellow Wolf, joined his haying camp and accepted his leadership again. The White Plume brothers who beat each other up in the early part of the week camped together a few days later and brought in the wheat.

Childhood rivalries between sisters are more apt to be dissipated in later life. In the buffalo period, many an early antagonism was forgotten because the advantage of being a second wife in a sister's household overcame the disadvantage of continued proximity. In the monogamous present, distance mitigates if it does not completely resolve the friction: after marriage, a woman still generally goes to her husband's house.

Other aspects of housing also affect family relationships. In the past, no

[399] From an anthropological viewpoint, see Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, p. 236; also Ralph Linton, *The Effects of Culture on Mental and Emotional Processes*, pp. 294, 295; also Bronislaw Malinowski, *Culture as a Determinant of Behavior*, particularly pp. 133–139. From a psychoanalytical viewpoint, see Erich Fromm, *Escape From Freedom*, pp. 277–291; also Karen Horney, *The Neurotic Personality of our Time*, p. 188 ff.; also Abram Kardiner, *The Individual and his Society*, p. 53.

601 Applying these considerations to the kinship system, we observe in
602 father's family a high concentration of persons termed "grandparent," and in general there is considerable social distance between these individuals and ego. Mother's family, on the other hand, contains a high concentration of mothers, fathers and brothers, and social distance is generally less. The affinal family, however, contains a large number of grandparents, where again social distance is considerable.

Two general principles of reckoning social distance enter here. In father's family age is a clear factor. As one approaches ego's own age level, the social

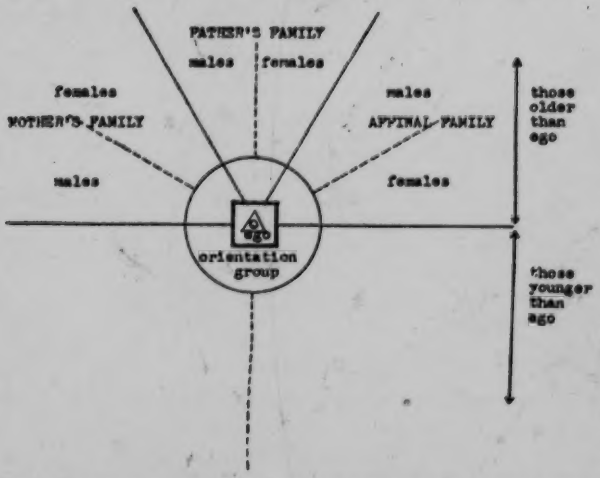

Fig. 1.—Showing schematically the relation of a male or female ego to categories of kinsmen, as mediated by the orientation group.

distance decreases, so that persons of like age are more intimate. In mother's family and in the affinal family of a man, generation becomes the main principle of establishing social distance; e.g., wife's sisters are less distant than wife's mother.

● [593] Sex introduces a further complicating factor. A boy reaching puberty learns increasingly to respect his sister, thus introducing social distance in his relationship to her. At her marriage, if it has not already occurred by the time of puberty, social distance is formally recognized when the sister depresses her brother one generation terminologically. Though it does not

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
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affect her designation of the brother himself, his wife and children are now called respectively "daughter-in-law" and "grandchildren." 601

One further distinction should be noted. Though we tend to consider social distance unilinearly as remoteness at one extreme and intimacy at the other, extremely significant qualitative differences in relationship are also involved. Remoteness may be the basis of complete social isolation, or it may form a condition for hate, anger, dominance or exhibition. In Blackfoot culture the social distance of the father's family and the affinal family must be qualitatively distinguished. While the affinal family's social distance implies isolation, the father's family in its remoteness implies authority. This is reflected terminologically, for though ego addresses both his father's father and his wife's father as "grandparent," the father-in-law calls ego "son-in-law," while father's father calls ego "grandson." 602 [593]

From the foregoing remarks the intent of the system seems to be a patrilineal organisation. Authority is vested in the father's family, while warm intimacy characterises the relations to the mother's family. The marriage of a woman implies the severing of relations with her own family and becoming a part of her husband's family. A man by reason of authority based on age and generation would appear to hold together the group of male kinsmen with their wives, sons and unmarried daughters. Indeed, this would be in keeping with the general pattern for the northern Plains and Woodland tribes of North America. [171]

In practise, however, the anarchistic individualism of the Plains changes the emphasis of this system. Family organization is multilineal; living is multilocal. Authority as exemplified in the band system is more like the relationship of landlord to tenant than lord to vassal. It is based on the supposition of a continuous flow of benefits to the submitter, rather than the humble submission to might in return for favors. As a consequence a kinsman uses his relatives for whatever benefits they may bring him. Only those whose wealth enables them to maintain a continuous flow of benefits have the continuity of the ideal system of patrilineally organised groups. But even they, because of their positions, have many besides siblings and their descendants as followers. Relatives through one's mother, through one's wife as well as their kinsmen, in fact any person with the remotest claim of relationship, may come to reap the benefits that a wealthy man distributes. Only in this light can the actual working of the system be understood. [191] [591] [621]

The Orientation Group

Let us first identify the group of relatives in this category and then attempt to justify the distinction. Membership in an orientation group includes ego's father (*nɑn.'a*), mother and her co-wives (*nɑksu'ta*), older brother (*nɑ'sᵉ*), older sister (*nɑn'sta*), and younger sibling (*nɑksn.'ᵒ* for a 596 601

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-S (1938, 1939) 1966
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596 601 male speaker and *nisis.*[a] for a female speaker).[1] If we extend to ego the position of father in ego's own tipi, we find ego's wife or wives (*nuxki.'man*), son (*nuxku'a*) and daughter (*nitan.'a*); for a female speaker the only additional term needed is the word "husband" (*nom.'a*), the co-wives being addressed as "younger sibling" or "older sister."

596 591 592 [601] The nominal character of this group cannot be denied. We have found no linguistic term to delineate these relatives, though there does exist a suffix to distinguish between siblings living with ego from those living elsewhere. As the conjugal Blackfoot family usually lives in a distinct dwelling from the parents, the orientation group contains not a single household unit but two: ego's parents' household and ego's household as a married adult with family. Though the schema implies patrilocal residence, [593] actually residence is multilocal. Our concept, furthermore, does not allow [606] for the fact that a woman is differently oriented toward her parents than a [587] male by dint of his mother-in-law tabu and sororal polygyny. Only among [735] the economically most impoverished, where even two tipis cannot be mustered, could such a group exist in practise.

596 602 601 Our justification for such a group lies in the fact that these relatives are points of orientation toward a larger circle of kinsmen. It is as if the persons of one's own tipi are direct relatives of ego while those outside are mediated through some one who lives or has lived with ego. For example, our term "aunt" implies a direct relationship to ego, but "father's sister" would im- [124] ply a relationship mediated through father. Though there is some linguistic evidence for this, more positive evidence is the phrasing of our interpreters and informants. One informant, generalising the forms of address of his affinal relatives, explained: "Those whom my wife calls 'father' or 'mother', I call 'grandparent'. . ." It would have been quite as easy for our interpreters to have translated "*my* wife's father is called 'my grandparent'," though this form of expression was not used. Elsewhere we find interpreters translating that a given person was "comrade" of the informant's father. The age of the father, as we shall see presently, is a point of reference for reckoning the form of address to males of father's family. We may infer that the mother also serves as a point of reference, for the members of her family are addressed by a different set of rules. In addition, the wife addresses her husband's family according to rules similar to those used by her husband in addressing his own family. Similarly, the wife's family is addressed in ways comparable to the rules whereby a woman addresses her own kinsmen.

Linguistically, several terms reveal this tendency for the orientation

[1] All Blackfoot terms for kinsmen are given in the possessive form, first person singular and include "my ——."

592 an extended family, the eldest male was in authority, though any of the
596 constituent households might terminate this authority by camping else-
[621] where. Similarly the senior member of an extended family could curtail
the authority of the band chief by withdrawing with his kinsmen to another
band or by forming an independent band, were the group sufficiently large.
[571] All groupings larger than the individual household presupposed that the
military and economic benefits of membership outweighed the disad-
vantages of submission to authority.

596 Assuming stable conditions, authority in the extended family lay with the
561 senior male. At his death the next oldest was presumptive head of the fam-
[603] ily. As a group there was little contact between the young and those of
grandparent status, though an individual might warm to one or more of his
[626] grandchildren and favor him in various ways. A child who spent consider-
able time with old people received the mildly derogatory term of *kspits'puka*
("old-woman-child") because of imitating unconsciously the mannerisms
of old people and hence acting beyond its age. Although an exception to the
rule correlating age with authority may appear in the individual household,
[988] even here the elder might be active in an advisory capacity. Only under
extreme circumstances were old people allowed to die as outcasts. When
transportation was difficult or food running short, then with regret, often
[886] at their own request, the old were left behind on the march. To be sure, the
rule of senior authority was modified when it was realized that seniority had
appeared. Then the next in age tactfully assumed the major administrative
role in the extended family or the band, if it had not already been relin-
quished.

556 The age-authority hierarchy was further reinforced by economic consider-
431 ations. It was the pattern to associate prestige with generosity. Those who
561 gave generously increased their own prestige, providing that they did not
593 bankrupt themselves thereby. Within the extended family it was the
554 practice to encourage siblings to give to their juniors. This was not only an
expression of endearment or of aiding a weaker person, as it was often
phrased. It also had the effect of putting juniors in the debt of seniors. To
be sure these debts were not the same within the family as outside the
family between unrelated persons, for repayment between relatives was
[684] not categorical. Yet we have such instances as a young man raiding for
horses to repay his father. The father had given horses in settlement to
a husband whose wife had had an affair with the son. In other cases where
an older brother had made his son a favored child, the younger brother gave
abundantly to this favored child, "to repay the older brother for his kind-
ness to him in his youth." We have also noted that young men returning
from war always gave some portion of their booty to older brothers. The
practice was to give first to the older because "they would not live so long
as the younger."

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practice was to give first to the older because "they would not live so long as the younger." 000

This system of rank and seniority had its repercussions on personal security. Even though blood bonds were considered extremely stable, cases occur where there was open conflict between brothers. Moreover, a younger brother was a potential threat to an older brother whom he might surpass. Many Swans' war record excelled that of his older brother, and people taunted the brother mildly on this score. Indeed, there was personal humiliation, for the great family name of Many Swans, borne by the older brother, was taken away by the father and given to the younger brother. The older brother also relinquished the chieftainship of the band in favor of the younger. Thus age was no guarantee against being excelled by a younger man even within one's own family. Loss of one's wives was another threat. In fact, judging by the severe and brutal treatment accorded an unfaithful wife at the hands of her husband, unfaithfulness seems to have been an almost intolerable personal affront. Yet we have instances where the co-respondent was a younger brother. The fact that the levirate did occur in some cases legalized this relationship but only after the death of the older brother. As if to prevent even this possibility, a male addressed his older brother's wife as "mother," and she replied "son." 561 593 578 [558] [553] [622] [558] [684] [587]

Thus if fraternal conflict were possible, the only security in a system of rank is in the group of those with identical rank. Indeed, we have observed that a male cousin, step-brother or twin of the same age was not called "brother" but "comrade." This is the only reciprocal term in Northern Blackfoot kinship terminology with the exception of the remote parents of one's siblings' spouses and the parents of ones' children's spouses (*ndax'-soku'*). The relationship of one comrade to another might be extremely close, implying a sharing of wealth, of sexual gratification and of recreation. Though comrades exchanged gifts, there was no sign of competition between them in out-doing the other in generosity. With comrades one's wife was safe, for with their wives one might have easy, ribald relations, though no sexual intercourse. The children of comrades were called "my children," and adoption of one or more of them at the death of a comrade was not uncommon. The age societies supported this solidarity further, for through the hierarchy of these societies one passed with the same group. Indeed, it was not uncommon for comrades to join together to help a poor comrade by paying for his membership. Then as a member of an age group one could vent his feelings against those of the next older age grade by jeering at their accomplishments, possibly sublimating some of the repressed rancor occasioned by their imperious authority. 561 602 571 [601] [597] [575] [578] [182]

Here we see that the relation of male to male was one of rank based on sen- [152] [154]

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561 571 [602] iority, tempered, to be sure, by bonds of affection between members of a family, yet finally secure only in the company of one's equals, the comrades, who were for the most part outside the kin group.

Generation

561 602 601 593 561 [844] [595] 603 561 As seniority ordered the relations between males and to a lesser degree between females, the concept of generation was the more important one ordering the relations of Northern Blackfoot women to each other. With the exception of the sibling terms, which differentiate older and younger than ego, the basis for social relationships was fixed by generation. Three main types of relationship may be distinguished: (1) Mother-daughter relationships implied sacrifice by mother for daughter and obedience by daughter to mother's commands. A mother sent her daughter with a tipi made by her own hands to her first husband. She had also made moccasins for her future son-in-law and his parents. At the birth of her daughter's child, she was a prominent figure in helping at the delivery. (2) In the absence of a mother, the older sister fulfilled these obligations, but in general the relations of older to younger sister required more reciprocity than was the case with ego's relationship to her mother. Once the younger sister reached a position where she had means of repaying, she was expected to repay in various ways her older sister's kindness. Such cooperation was the ideal, and a Blackfoot argument for sororal polygyny held that blood sisters made a more harmonious household than unrelated co-wives. However, in practice the older sister often sat leisurely in command of her husband's household as the "sits-beside-him wife" while her younger sisters performed the arduous work in the tipi and cared for the children. (3) The relationship of grandmother to granddaughter was typically remote, somewhat reserved and distant as before all elderly people. Grandmothers, however, made a practice of befriending and maintaining warm, affectionate relations with one or more of their grandchildren. Thus nearly every child could count on warmth and devotion in at least one of the austere old women.

561 601 [178] These generations are conceptually arranged in two different ways. All women of a mother and daughter line arranged themselves in biological generation terms. In addition there is evidence for counting generation in a second way, which fixed the relationships to the lateral lines. After ego's marriage cross-cousins on the mother's side were all called "grandchildren." At this time also the wives of this line of mother's brothers were no longer called "mother" but "daughter-in-law." On the paternal side father's sister was called "grandmother." Our older informants state that the female descending line of this woman was also called "grandmother." Today, however, the descendants are called "older sister" or "younger sister." The term "grandmother" is, nevertheless, in keeping with the practice of calling

For the male, we observe a break between his relatively irresponsible life as a bachelor and his responsible position as head of a household. Furthermore, to many marriage tacitly meant giving up the warpath. Thus, war activities would be limited to economically unproductive forays which beat off enemy raids on the camp. To marry implied that one had sufficient horses and in a sense jeopardized one's future, for were these animals lost through an enemy raid, the owner was less free to go again on the warpath. The responsibility for the household was too great readily to be entrusted to another. 593 592 581

For the female there was also a break between the rôle of a daughter in the household of her parents and the rôle of wife in the tipi of her husband. This dichotomy was framed by the mother-in-law tabu, which necessitated her living either as wife or daughter but never both. Leaving the warm, affectionate, accepting relationship of a daughter to her mother she entered the strange tipi of her husband. Frequently this change was made at an early age to accustom her more quickly to the transition, but the change was, nevertheless, a traumatic one followed by frequent attempts to escape. Father and elder brothers were rigorous in policing the marriage contract and adopted measures to enforce it comparable to the breaking of a colt. 581 593 [606]

As a result of this negative attitude toward marriage on the part of both partners definite rewards had to be offered. A key to this is furnished by the kinship system. The male received enhanced status. By the brothers of his wife he was called *nistamo'* while he replied to them with *nistamox'kua*. The suffix *xkua*, also found in the word *nuxku'a* ("my son") implies depressing a person a generation in the sense of calling a person "child." Moreover, all children of the wife's brothers were "grandchildren" so that they honored him as "grandparent." In practice the relationship of husband to wife's brother did not always follow this pattern, for the concept of seniority dominated the kinship regulations. A brother of the wife older than her husband actually held the rein of authority, but it was a warm relationship between the two males which more nearly paralleled that of siblings. Frequently the sister and her husband camped near an older brother, where the husband helped with the horses and hunting. In turn when the husband became self-sufficient, a wife's younger brother might move to help him in maintaining his household. Thus a man increased the number of his siblings through marriage and hence his personal security. 601 607 [554] 561 602 607

For the woman there were also prestige rewards. By entering the tipi of her husband, she, too, received nominal enhancement of status. This was achieved by depressing a generation the husband's younger siblings, who became her "sons" and "daughters." In turn their children called her "grandmother." Though she had to pay respect to her husband's elders, the wives of these older brothers, and perhaps her husband's sisters, helped her 601 607 [554] 607 585

607 to learn to cook, tan hides, and make moccasins. There was no hazing of the
585 new wife; rather, if very young, she was treated like a child in the attempt to make her feel at home in this new situation.

● 593 In addition social dicta prescribed that women be participators in the
562 cultural rewards apart from the warpath. This was mainly the case with
[778] ceremonial life. It was always necessary for a man to have a woman partner
[575] when he obtained the medicine pipe or entered the sacred societies. In these activities it was usually a wife, though a man might seek another woman to
796 take her place. These women were not ceremonially so important as a male.
593 However, one case shows where a man refused to join the Crazy Dog society,
562 and to overcome his resistance, his comrades took his wife as a member. As
[575] under this circumstance he could not refuse his wife and maintain community respect, he paid for her membership and sat beside her in all the meetings. In the Sun Dance alone a woman overshadowed her husband, but
[571] this status assured her husband of a firm marital tie. As Sun Dance vower, she personified the cultural ideal of womanhood, the woman who above all was faithful to her husband.

562 Beyond this elevation of the status of women through the necessity for
842 women partners in receiving sacred objects and in participating in general social life, there lay a mystical concept. Through women came the greatest treasures the culture offered. This meant in the family that a man might
[603] have children, for children of both sexes were avidly desired. Older people
[597] raised their grandchildren in order to have children in the tipi. It was also the practice to adopt a child should one's own child die. This pattern of cul-
562 tural rewards went even farther. In obtaining the most sacred root in the
796 Horn and mo'toki societies, the root which was the zenith of sacred objects
778 brought to the earth by the woman who brought the Sun Dance, a woman
[575] was necessary. In an esoteric ceremonial act a woman obtained for her husband the root from a man who sold it. This was a very secret and unmention-
[432] able event that separated socially the seller from the buyer until the two
[571] "made friends" at some time when neither owned the root any longer. Thus through marriage the two worlds of the male and the female were united to
581 obtain the rewards of the culture.
582

Balancing of the Lines

601 The question of lineality arises in any discussion of kinship terminology
602 in its relation to the family organization. We believe that there is only slight, if any, emphasis on the paternal line.

601 Critical in fixing lineality is the relative weight of husband versus wife's
607 brother. In the foregoing paragraphs a relative balance of the two authorities has been indicated. Ideally, it was a friendly, warm, though respectful relationship, implying a type of cooperation like that between brothers,

with seniority as the greater weight. However, regardless of seniority the wife's brother had the right to call home his sister in case of her being mistreated, and if this occurred soon after the initial marriage contract, return of the wedding gifts might be demanded. This prerogative was, of course, balanced by the more frequently exercised right of a husband to send his wife away in case of her failure to meet his demands. Normally, sex rather than family lines constituted the major cleavage, so that the two men cooperated to keep the woman faithful. 601 607 [586]

Similarly son and son-in-law were neatly balanced. The son, as we shall see presently, was the most important offspring yet little more important than the son-in-law. The rationale of the mother-in-law tabu, as stated by most women, hinges on the emotion of respect. Weight is given this phrasing in behavior, for the greater the prestige of the son-in-law, the greater the number of female in-laws who observed avoidance norms. The respect was also accompanied by periodic gifts exchanged between the son-in-law and parents-in-law. The supremacy of the son in the eyes of his parents may be seen by the following incident where a woman was dying. On her deathbed she summoned her son-in-law who entered the room with eyes lowered so as not to look in her face. After hearing the last words directed to other relatives, the son-in-law was addressed through his wife; the old woman said: "Be kind to your husband; treat him well after I am gone. I love you very much, but I love him better. I love him like a son." 601 606 [593] [554] [431] [593]

Lineage was traced through the mother's line as well as through the father's. Incest was reckoned if any relationship between the two prospective spouses could be discovered. There was, however, little memory beyond three generations, when the line diffused into vagueness. With names a slight patrilineality showed itself in the desire to make a great name "live in every generation." Thus we find sons and grandsons of famous people still bearing such names as Crowfoot, Eagle Ribs, Old Sun and Many Swans. It would be unusual for a son-in-law to take a family name of this type, but if he did, it was deemed a great honor to the family, for which he would be given a good horse. More likely he would feel obliged to keep alive the important names of his own family. There were also great female names passed down in the line from mother to daughter, but their importance was overshadowed by the male names. 601 [582] [835] 601 551 [553] [562]

Inheritance of property was also multilateral. A list of recipients in order of their priority might run like this: older brother, younger brother, son, wife's brother, daughter's husband. Nominally, females might receive property and dispose of it, though in practice the husband of the woman received it and acted as agent. Horses, which made up the body of the legacy since household furnishings were parts of the mortuary tipi, were not ordinarily given to lone women, as they had no means for caring for them. The male 428 421 562 [429] ooo

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The male
428 relatives were obligated to care for the widow. Women did own property,
421 nevertheless, and might dispose of it according to their own wishes, but
562 should they receive horses from a dying man, a close male relative would be
[736] obliged to care for this property.

Under the violent fluctuation of economic fortunes due to enemy raids,
428 uncontrolled livestock disease and severe winters, inheritance was usually
[461] not a very significant factor in Blackfoot social life. Though there are notori-
ous cases where young men remained idly in camp because they had in-
[768] herited sufficient horses to make the warpath unnecessary, such cases stand
out by dint of their rarity. Most obligations were settled prior to death, and
in mourning dissipation of the property was speedy, relatives and non-
relatives alike not unwilling to be present at the distraught hand-outs of the
[765] dead man's possessions. Then the immediate kinsmen were left to mourn,
stripped of property, themselves careless of what happened. Nevertheless,
in distributing the property, the prior obligations to siblings as compared
with own children is striking.

593 Throughout life reciprocal obligations between brothers was stressed. In
561 childhood the older brother was responsible for introducing a younger
868 brother into the boy's life of the camps. Later he took his younger brother
on his first war party. As repayment for this instruction, the younger
brother would give a sizable fraction of his booty to the older, and this
practice would continue indefinitely after the young man had showed his
capability of independent fighting. Once established as a warrior, the young
man would take a still younger sibling on war parties, in order to instruct
him. This practice established a chain of obligations to repay older brothers
and instruct younger brothers who in their turn would repay their in-
structors.

593 Competition for honors was a potentially disintegrating force in the rela-
561 tions between brothers, but this system of obligations solidified fraternal
[578] relations. In this light the prior obligations to brothers over sons is to be
understood: A man's son normally received aid not from his father but from
his father's younger brother who would ordinarily be the son's "older
brother." Thus interaction in certain spheres was greater with members of
adjacent age grades than with one's parents. This was particularly true
with reference to economic exchange, and these economic obligations con-
tinued through life, finally to be expressed in a man's last words on his death-
bed. The main exception to this rule was with a favored child, where the
father himself chose to assume the rôle normally falling to an older brother.
In accordance with such sentimental ties, the favored child usually received
the bulk of a man's property, in contrast to the usual emphasis on sibling
solidarity which succeeded in channeling property toward siblings.

591 Residence after marriage also assumed no specific forms. Not only might

a man reside in his wife's father's camp or his own father's camp, but he might follow a sibling who lived in the camp of this sibling's in-laws or this sibling's brother-in-law's camp which might be located elsewhere. We have cases of poor men "without any relatives" moving into the camp of a chief and being welcomed despite the absence of blood ties. There was considerable freedom of movement on this basis, and the man usually camped where he was furnished with the greatest economic advantages. 591

Consideration on the basis of terminology alone suggests a patrilineal weighting. A male derived no prestige from the line of females beginning with his sister who called him "older brother." We might regard these females as being sent to another line of males where they would honor all whom they called "grandparent." In keeping with this emphasis was the early marriage of daughters who thus went to live with their husbands before strong personal attachments were formed with their brothers. Substantiating this was the remoteness of a man's children to his sister. Also, as we have seen, honor was accorded the son-in-law by the daughter's parents rather than the daughter. Weighing against such a lineal emphasis, was the important relationship of son-in-law to son and to the parents themselves which firmly united the group. Furthermore, the phrasing of wedlock was that a wife "brought the husband children." In these words Blackfoot underscored cooperation between husband and wife rather than the alternative possibility that the rôle of a wife was solely bearing children for him. The children were his only for the duration of the marriage contract, since they normally followed the mother to her new residence after separation. Terminologically the cooperation of man and woman to produce children may be also seen in the fact that a man calls the children of his wife's sister, even though married to another man, "son" and "daughter." 601 602 601 581 593 [562] [586] [601]

Perhaps a stronger argument for patrilineality was the dramatization by a son of his relationship to his father. In addition to the important position of the father in designating kinsmen, this showed itself in four principal ways. First, we have observed among our informants an eagerness to relate the tales of their father's prowess, a tendency to glorify him as a man great in battle, wealth and generosity. Where one informant's father had disgraced himself by presuming to be a chief when he had no claim to this authority, the informant seized upon his paternal grandfather as a proper alternative to glorify. Another indication of this dramatization is the frequent statement of an informant that he was a favored child. Most of our informants recognized the disadvantage of being favored children since the pampering accorded such a child usually misfitted him for a self-sufficient life after the father's death when many of the favored children went bankrupt. Nevertheless, informants persisted in stating that they were favored children. The desirability of being a favored child was, first, that one's own 593 554 601 [558] 593 858 554

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593 status was thereby elevated because of having received some sacred objects,
858 and, second, it was an oblique way of stating that one's father was wealthy,
554 hence a hard worker and a man of accomplishment. Further evidence for
paternal glorification may be seen in the almost monomanic anxiety over
597 being an adopted child. Any rebuff that a son might be given was frequently
593 the stimulus for morbid preoccupation over the reality of the blood relation-
[152] ship to the person he called father. In adopting a child, parents took elaborate precautions to show even greater affection toward the adopted child than toward their own in order to prevent this child from suspecting his adoption. When a child or grown person discovered this fact, it was a traumatic experience from which recovery was slow and difficult. Further indi-
593 626 cation of the importance of the paternal rôle in the life of a male was the universal comment made when a man deviated from acceptable behavior.
[867] People said, "He did not listen to his father's words." This had direct reference to the series of moral lectures that every father was supposed to make
593 827 to his children. Another aspect was the concept of inheritance of personality characteristics from the father. This was particularly true of males who were supposed to inherit their father's courage in battle, memory for ritual, generosity, or eccentricities. Females were thought to inherit more from their mothers. On one occasion the question arose in a discussion with an informant as to why certain individuals did not listen to the moral lectures of their fathers. Our informant on this occasion stated that it was because they had inherited this particular deafness to the paternal sermons from their fathers who in turn had also not heeded the dicta of their fathers.

584 Certain prerogatives accorded the woman's family served to heighten the importance of the mother's family. Foremost among these was the privilege of the woman's parents to assume the initiative in soliciting marriage for
[581] their daughter. Indeed, it was frequent that a wealthy man picked a son-in-
[858] law who was poor but energetic with the aim of receiving his assistance in the camp. We have statements to the effect that on this account daughters were somewhat preferred to sons in that through them the circle of one's
585 followers and helpers could be more readily enlarged. Of conceivable sym-
[591] bolic importance was the fact that the woman's parents usually provided the first tipi with its furnishings for the new son-in-law, for this suggests that in
586 the remote past the son-in-law was actually living matrilocally. Furthermore, a woman usually returned to the camp of her parents or brothers with her unmarried children after the dissolution of a marriage. The husband
736 thereby lost whatever influence he may have had over the children. In the
[888] case of a woman whose husband died when she was too old for ready remarriage, her sons, by then economically self-sufficient, were expected to care for her, and they would accord her the authority due an elderly person in making important decisions.

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It will have been observed that the woman's system of relating herself to other women is very similar to the Crow kinship structure. Though the presence of such a structure may imply matrilineality, the fact that no clan structure existed necessarily dissipates this possibility. Rather, the somewhat fluid band group contained relatives of a wide variety of relationship and even some unrelated persons if the chief were wealthy and generous. Rather than an emphasis on kin relationships as a patrilineality or a matrilineality would imply, we find instead that a conceivably close bond of blood may be sacrificed for a remoter relationship with greater economic advantage. It is as if one blood relationship were nearly as important as any other and that each merely served as the entrée for advancing one's private interests.

Points of Weakness in the Structure

There were two main points of weakness in the kinship structure which we shall discuss, one in the relationship between siblings, and another in the relationship of husband and wife. Both of these weaknesses were in a large measure due to the disrupting effect of Plains individualism.

We have already noted that brothers might be in conflict, although the emphasis was certainly on fraternal solidarity. There was a continual potential conflict between familial solidarity with authority vested in the eldest and the outspoken individualism of the Plains expressed as a desire to be unhampered by outside authorities. This progressed in the Northern Blackfoot to the extent of dissipating even familial groupings. The leaders of a band were usually close relatives. After Crowfoot's death, for example, the leadership of his band passed through the line of his brothers in order of their age and today has ended nominally with the eldest son of Crowfoot's youngest brother. The followers of a chief, however, were usually any relative of the chief but not necessarily close relatives, for these closer relatives of lesser people tended to move to other camps where opportunities were better. Rather than risk conflict with an elder brother and rather than cooperate to make a common living, brothers moved away to other camps where opportunities might be better with some other relative. The following case of a young man and his mother illustrates the ephemerality of authority of one sibling over another and the solution by moving to another camp.

Many Mules and his mother camped with Big Black Collar, mother's brother, for Many Mules' father had died. The agent offered cattle to the Indians, and Calf Bull, Many Mules' sister's husband, who was chief of a band, bought some. He also advised Many Mules to buy some, but Many Mules said he must first consult his "older brother." Big Black Collar advised against it, saying that those who bought cattle would be sent north and denied the weekly meat rations. Many Mules followed his older brother's advice at that time but in the meanwhile helped Calf Bull from time to time with his cattle. When subsequently the agent offered cattle free to any Indian,

593 621 571 Many Mules obtained five head and drove them into the corral of Big Black Collar. On seeing them, Big Black Collar was furious and ordered Many Mules to get rid of them. Instead Many Mules moved with his mother to the camp of his mother's sister's husband who was a cattle owner.

The result of this situation for a young man was that he moved from one relative's camp to the next until he found the authority which was least arduous. However, until he became economically independent, he could not [581] maintain a wife and tipi. This may be considered another reward for marriage: when one becomes supreme authority in one's own tipi.

937 562 [577] [578] Marriage in itself was an unstable affair due to other factors. Here there exists a conflict between the male dogma that any woman was a legitimate sex object and the ideal embodied in the Sun Dance vower, that a bride be not only a virgin but as a wife remain perpetually faithful to her husband. Unmarried men were always a threat to the stability of a marriage, for few men would tolerate clandestine affairs on the part of their wives. The relative rarity of Sun Dance vowers as compared with those women who were ineligible to vow the Sun Dance because of past misconduct bespeaks the [684] frequency of these illicit affairs. As women were credited with the initiative in love, the punishment was usually directed toward them rather than the [621] co-respondent, and this punishment was often severe in the extreme. Pat[152] terns of male suspiciousness and jealousy were rampant: Wives were beaten merely after seeing another man beat his wife; suspicious men even moved [578] from the protection of a camp to the open prairie where they were easy prey [593] to enemy raiding parties, rather than risk their wives in a camp filled with bachelors; young men suspected of complicity were attacked without warn593 ing by irate husbands. The reason for this conduct may be partly under571 stood on the basis of affronted authority. As unfaithfulness on the part of a 937 wife threatened the very existence of the domain over which a man had 684 supreme authority and might reduce him to acknowledging authority in another tipi group as an ignominious visitor who could not care for himself, marriage stability was a very personal and vested interest for a male. To protect the household the punishment was extreme, varying from mutilation in order to make her less attractive, to society rape fests that she might be given her fill of sexual experience with other men, to merely shooting her. All this was carried out in a fit of rage under the name of disillusioned love: "I loved her so much, and then she was unfaithful to me." The restorative aspects of these measures must be stressed, for since the wife was usually not sent away, the punishment was intended to make the household more [687] secure. Should the extreme have occurred, murder was always followed by [765] the customary mourning rites that approximated those following natural death. Only when the integrity of the household could be preserved in any

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
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case, as where there was more than one wife, was a woman sent away, for above all the preservation of the household was primary.

Of course, unfaithfulness reflected unfavorably also on the reputation of the woman's family. Thus, a wife's male relative in cases where the woman was at fault cooperated in the attempts at education and sanctioned this severe treatment. In fact, this constituted a bond of interest between a wife's relatives and her husband. During the actual fracas between husband, wife and co-respondent, the person expected to restore equilibrium was the elder brother or father of the co-respondent. He, seeking to reduce the tension between the families, would send horses to the aggrieved husband. No rebuke would be given a son who was co-respondent not only because the woman was theoretically responsible, but, as one informant expressed it, "because the father would think back to the days when he was young and understand how his boy felt."

Generally the strength of the conjugal family varies inversely with the strength of the blood bonds. Curiously, however, Plains individualism to the point of anarchy served to maintain the strength of both. When the irritations of the authority of one's elders became too great, one might establish his own tipi if economically possible. But the instability of the marriage bond often sent one back to renew the relationship with people of one's own blood. At one end the security of a man of accomplishment was in his own tipi of wives and children; at the other extreme, with complete failure of all endeavors, security could be found in the group of his own blood as refuge.

Current Changes in Kinship

With the settling of the Blackfoot on a reservation, three main changes have occurred. The old economy disappeared, and in its place agriculture and herding under white management have been substituted. With this change the nomadic mode of life has been replaced by a semi-sedentary life within the limits of an Indian reserve. The band as the social unit for defensive war, residence and hunting, has disintegrated into its component units, the extended families. Whites have moved into southern Alberta, where they have engulfed the reserve. Though the Blackfoot, because of their status as treaty Indians, live separately from the Whites, the latter influence Blackfoot institutions.

In what ways has the kinship terminology been influenced by these changes? The majority of such changes can be subsumed under an extension of the principle of age-grading with reference to ego and ego's father. While formerly all the women of father's family were termed "grandparent," today father's younger sister becomes ego's "older sister," or "younger sib-

114 passed. However, intra-family economic dependencies and household
592 population had increased. In Chapter III of this work I explore com-
178 parisons of 1921 and 1966 households in much greater detail. I double
127 the 1921 sample by including the Old Agency District farming and ranch-
128 ing cooperatives, acreages cultivated correlated with family type (a
121 test of my hypothesis concerning family types and economic resources not
made previously), racial ancestry of unsuccessful and relatively successful farmers, ranchers, and wage earners, among other topics.

114 I also analyzed Blackfeet family ethics, using twenty conjugal
593 pairs who were raising or had raised children in Heart Butte, and showed
551 that repeated exposures to a wide range of kinsmen, brought about mainly
511 by economic need, generate cooperativeness and generosity. At least 50
114 per cent of the families in my sample could not successfully pursue the
577 individualistic Protestant ethic because poverty thrusted them back on
511 kinsmen for economic support. I imputed a middle class ethic to those
[182] who succeeded economically, based on my observations of their behavior.
114 Families with incomes of approximately $4,000 per annum and up tended to
551 sever mutual economic assistance relationships and generally their re-
593 sources are consumed by the individual family unit. Automobiles, land,
511 houses and home improvements are purchased when possible. Generally a strategy of individual family enrichment is pursued, at least during the period when these families are doing reasonably well.

114 And finally, I briefly assessed the authority positions of males
593 and females in the parental generation. Authority in the family was
562 strongly linked with control and ownership of family dwellings and the

114 land on which dwellings are located. Males were generally dominant.
593 Land and dwellings served to attract erstwhile migrants to remain on the
562 reservation in preference to urban life.

114 This resume of previous work sets down several hypotheses that
121 have been confirmed: (1) that low and unstable income causes related families to join under a single roof, if kin are available to form such households, or (2) that low and unstable family income also causes related families to live adjacent to one another on land owned by an elder kinsman to form intensive cooperative units and to defray rental expenses; (3) scarce economic resources in the past (1921) brought about intensive economic cooperation among related and unrelated families which continues today, although resources have changed from federal annuities, meager farming and ranching to wage labor, welfare and
121 revenues from leased land. These and other hypotheses will be re-examined in the forthcoming chapters. Severe restriction of access to resources is used throughout this study as the central variable. This variable will be cited where necessary as I build my explanations with extensive detailed data. The household unit is used throughout as a sensitive indicator of the level of economic resources available to the sample populations.

shops and second-hand stores. One of our interpreters sold a radio to a neighbour to obtain money for gifts at the Sun Dance. The Sun Dance vower's house, when visited before the Sun Dance, was adequately furnished, but afterwards it was nearly empty. Fortunately, it was not necessary to convert all of the furniture into cash; some pieces were directly converted into services at the ceremony.

A second and more frequent means of obtaining money is by soliciting one of those kinsmen who is socially obligated to mutual sharing. This expedient is of limited usefulness in acquiring cash, although almost any relative will share food and some clothing. These reciprocal obligations apply particularly to brothers, brothers-in-law, and age mates. However, if the borrower is poor and the loaner wealthy, repayment is not expected. Control over asking too frequently for assistance is the Blackfoot emphasis on the virtue of giving rather than receiving. Just as a middle-class white, failing to return his social invitations, would find himself ignored, so Blackfoot failure to reciprocate gifts means loss of prestige; and gifts, like white parties, are most frequent among equals in status.

As a result of all this scarcity, currency has increased in value. At ceremonies a dollar in currency is considered the equivalent of a blanket worth several times that amount in a local store. As previously mentioned, only one Blackfoot farmer pays regular cash wages to his employees, the remainder making only occasional and irregular payments. Part of the willingness of Indians to act as informants may be attributed to the desire for cash.

Two systems of transaction result from the scarcity of money. Cash is used mainly for transactions with whites and seldom passes from one Blackfoot to another. Within the reserve, however, all transferable property circulates; horses, articles of furniture, clothing, and bedding move about fairly freely on the reserve and to Indians of neighbouring reserves as well. This is a continuation and extension of the pre-reserve economy, for which there were many possible means of distribution. There is little development of production to satisfy the demands of this internal economy. Alone of Blackfoot products horses are of value here, but the horse raisers tend to prefer to change horses into cash rather than into sacred objects or other items of intra-reserve value.

As we shall more clearly in our study of distribution, the flow of chattels through the reserve is not a lively one. The most valuable assets that a man has come from the agency via trust funds and are non-transferable. Thus it is usually the smaller and less valuable

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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602 brothers-in-law, and sons. One's generosity is shown by fine gifts
43 to a father-in-law and a mother-in-law, and by treating one's younger
brother in school to a movie. Wives buy things not only for their
466 children but for their sisters' children. A man invites his brother-
in-law to dine at a Chinese restaurant. All of these cases reveal
602 segments of the intra-familial system of circulating wealth.
431 To estimate the amount of wealth per year passing through the family is difficult. Part of the groceries, clothing, and household expenses passes through this channel. More than half of the gifts that are made go to relatives. In terms of volume the family is probably the most important distributive mechanism on the reserve, even more important than the agency.

593 Near extinction, though not completely dead, is the institution
858 of the favoured child (*mini.puka*) which centres about the family.
431 Horses and blankets were given out lavishly in the name of the child. A wealthy father rewarded many times over the giver of a gift to his favourite child. A trifling object such as a bell might in the past be rewarded with a horse or a suit of buckskin clothing. Thus the favoured child institution was a special aspect of distribution where generosity was reciprocated by generosity without possibility of
593 comparable return. Though there are many who have been favoured
858 children in the past, only two children have that status today. The
177 schools are blamed for this because the children are taken away from their parents. The children themselves, caught in the set of values established by the school, no longer seek the favours that Indian parents give. A lad who has spent twelve years under Anglican or Roman Catholic influence finds it difficult to appreciate the gift of a Medicine Pipe and asks to be spared the honour.

585 Marriage may constitute a mechanism of distribution, if one of
431 the Blackfoot patterns is followed. Of three first marriages observed, one followed this pattern. The main feature is an exchange of presents between the two contracting families. The bride's family in a recent marriage gave eight horses which they had collected from various relatives. The groom's family, obligated to an equal return gift, could only collect six horses; accordingly a "democrat" and a wardrobe were thrown in. As far as possible those relatives who contributed are given something in return; the immediate family must go without in case of inadequate return gift, while the more distant relatives receive in proportion to their contributions. Among

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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563 government charity for over forty years, surviving as best they could. Admission was granted to these families and subsequently to a few others of the same band.

Today these Indians constitute a special group which lives somewhat apart and is identified as "Cree" by the Blackfoot. They are distinct from the Cree wives of Blackfoot and the descendants of adopted Crees whose past affiliation with Crees, though recognized, does not constitute a basis for special social status. The new-comers receive all the benefits of the Blackfoot trust fund. They have constructed their own coal-mine and continue their own ceremonials. 563 796 Indeed, they use for their own purposes the Sun Dance lodge that has been erected by the Blackfoot for Blackfoot rituals. In 1939, with no Sun Dance vower from the majority group, the Crees offered to save the day by holding the ceremonies according to their tradition. Some Blackfoot participated with interest, most were grateful and somewhat satisfied at having a "sort of a Sun Dance," but many were arrogantly critical of these proceedings. The Crees, on the defensive, resolved to impress these spectators with the ceremonial rigours and the strength of their power. One night, after the chief vower had fasted for more than forty-eight hours, in the presence of a few curious spectators the aged vower was said to have made the moon dance to the beat of his drum. Respect for the Crees rose perceptibly, and though this group is treated by local reserve residents as inferior, it is now probable that as its economic position improves, differences will disappear.

Social Structure and Kinship

594 592 [829] The band having disappeared, there remains as the present nucleus for living the individual family of husband, wife, and children. However, it is unusual for a family to remain long so small as this, for people consider themselves lonely and isolated under these circumstances. Only the recluses or very poor live alone with 596 their wives and children. As we have noted, a young man and his wife will come to live with an older brother or one of the husband's brothers-in-law. In this household the two men help each other with the work in the fields, while their wives collaborate on baby [178] care and household chores. Such a system is a direct continuation [593] of the time-honoured kinship obligations between brothers, and [607] between a man and his sister's husband or his wife's brother.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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of mutilation. This brings to our attention the enhanced status of women through the application of white law. Through English precedent a Blackfoot woman may hold property in her own name, thus having authority which lies beyond the control of her husband. Furthermore, English law does not reinforce the authority over her by the male members of her family, as does Blackfoot practice. Thus in a case where a woman complained to the agent about mistreatment by her husband which had the approval of her own brothers, the case would probably be decided in favour of the woman by a white magistrate. Women are legally freer today than formerly. Naturally such legal practices have undermined much of the familial authority. It has been broken down further by years of boarding-school life away from the elders, as well as the white law which permits an adult female self-determination, once she has passed the eighteenth birthday.

On the side of the male other factors have further undermined marital stability. In the former polygynous households, relations with another woman could sometimes be legalized by incorporating her into the family as a co-wife. Of course, this is not permissible today. Moreover, the number of services performed by a woman for her husband have decreased. Though cooking and child tending continue, the hides that she once tanned, the tipi and buckskin clothes that she once made are either not desired, or their equivalents can be purchased from stores. Economically, wives are less valuable.

Remarriage after separation or death of a spouse is vastly simpler than initial marriages. Relatives, preferably the older brothers, of a woman usually select a satisfactory male who, in case of acceptance, notifies the agency of the event. The customary five dollars in cash is given again and notice sent to the stock-man concerning the delivery of rations. Male initiative in proposing marriage also occurs, though via an intermediary; in such cases a woman is expected to consult her male relatives before an answer can be given. Elopement of an unmarried girl does occur, but amends should be made to the offended authority of the woman's brother by sending a proper gift, traditionally a horse. In case of an elopement from a husband, the wife's brothers, if they approve the change, should relay the gift to the offended husband.

Such a picture of marital instability, hence household instability, superimposed upon the amorphousness of many extended families, shows the fluidity of reserve social structure. The points of stability

When my grandma was about a year or two old, Heavy Head became one of the last Bloods to go through the ancient ritual of self-torture. He had gone to raid horses from an enemy tribe and gotten into a tough situation. In order to get help and courage, he made a vow to go through this ritual at the next Sun Dance ceremony, which is the main tribal event in our traditional life. In front of all the people, his chest was pierced in two places so that willow skewers could be inserted. To these were tied two long ropes, which hung down from the symbolic Center Pole in the sacred Sun Dance lodge. Heavy Head had to pull these ropes tight and dance until the skewers broke through his flesh and released him. The ceremony may sound cruel today, but my ancestors had a lot of faith and meaning for it in their nature-oriented life. A couple of years later the ceremony was forbidden by the government.

Heavy Head suffered from his Sun Dance wounds for some time. He went out into the hills so that he could cry and suffer alone, and out there he was given certain mystical powers to cure ailments with prayers, songs, and herbs. As he grew older he became the keeper of various tribal medicine bundles and a member of ancient societies. Among the Bloods a man does all these things in company with his wife—his main one, if he should have two or more—so my great-grandma, First-to-Kill, began to learn the songs and ceremonies of our sacred ways. Her life changed from helping one husband feed and house wagon-road travelers to helping another husband doctor the sick people and lead their religious ceremonies when they were well.

Grandma AnadaAki grew up hearing these old songs and watching the ceremonies. But her mother knew that the modern ways were coming to stay, so she made sure that her children got themselves educated. Grandma was sent to a special girls' school run by a British matron named Miss Wells. Unlike the missionary and boarding schools that were

593 My husband used to get mad at me for crumbs of bread that used to be all over the bed.

THE HOLY WOMEN AMONG MY GRANDMOTHERS

771 All of my traditional grandmothers prayed a lot and believed in their religion. To me they were all holy women,
793 living a sacred way of life. But there were special ones among
796 them who were revered by the rest of the tribe as holy women. These were the sponsors of the Sun Dance, or medicine lodge ceremonies. That is the highest religious event among my people, and it is always sponsored by a noble woman who has been true to her husband and otherwise upstanding in life. This fact, by itself, has long helped women to have a special standing in our tribe.

773 The legend of the medicine lodge ceremony has been handed down from our long-ago ancestors. Even today most of our people know at least some parts of it. I have heard long versions told by several of my elders. This legend is perhaps comparable to the story of Christmas among Christians. It tells our people that Sun is the main representative of the Creator. It also tells how some of our long-ago ancestors were
[771] taken up to Sun to bring back blessings for our people. Much of our religion centers around the wonderful stories and ceremonies that were brought back from Sun. Each holy woman
796 who has sponsored a Sun Dance has represented one of the
793 legendary messengers from Sun. Thus the holy women are also known as Sun Women, and the holy lodges they build are also known as Sun Lodges. All the people gather to help build these lodges, in the middle of summer, when Sun is
[361] closest to our country. In the old days this was about the only time in the year that all the bands of the tribe assembled in one place, together. Everyone could go before the

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TWO LITTLE SISTERS
by Paula Weasel Head's Sister, Annie Red Crow

593 858 My father took my sister as his Minipoka, or favorite. I don't know why he picked her, but in those days it was a custom to do that. She got special treatment in whatever she did, and my father took her along to ceremonies and dances while I stayed home and played.

593 Not that our father treated me badly because of it. Sometimes he tried to get me initiated for some sacred thing at the same time as my sister, but I always ran away. I always preferred to play with my friends. I wasn't mistreated at all, but I sure was jealous because my sister was treated special. I used to do things to aggravate her. I would make certain faces at her, when no one was looking, and call her. "Ponah! Ponah!" I would say, quietly, and when she looked and saw my faces 551 she would get real mad. Her real name is Different-People Woman, but they named her Paula, like they named me Annie. Paula Iron and Annie Iron, we were called in school. The old people couldn't pronounce Paula, so they called her Ponah, and that name has stuck with her.

857 524 Right from the time we were young my sister knew a lot about Indian ways. We would make dolls out of cloth and buckskin, and we would put real hair on them. She knew how to make them real good. She had a little painted tipi, and it was even transferred to her with a ceremony. After that she started pouting around our parents because she didn't have a medicine pipe bundle for her tipi. Our parents had several of them, at different times. So they made her a little medicine pipe bundle to hang up in her tipi. She took care of it just like our mother took care of our real ones—that's how she learned to care for medicine bundles so good. This small one she had 852 778 wasn't transferred to her, it was just for imitation. But there

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852 were a couple of small ones that were transferred to the chil-
778 dren of well-off people. One of them is among the Bloods yet. It is known as the children's medicine pipe. When my husband, Frank, was still living we had this bundle transferred to one of our favorite granddaughters.

● 593 Whatever my sister wanted, she would only have to go to our father and act good and he would get it for her. If acting good didn't work, she would pout until he gave in. If I did that he got mad and chased me away. Our family was well
524 off in horses and property. He used to make her small play horses and put real horsehair on them. She had small travois to fit some of them. One of them had four little doll children with their heads sticking out of the travois pack, just like in real. She even had small bundles imitating the Horns Society and the Motokiks. That's why she joined in all these things while she was still young. I just joined the Motokiks lately, in my old age.

593 I remember one day, when we were young, that I sure
302 made things miserable for my father and sister. Every morning he would paint our faces, so we would have good luck for the day. He would pray while painting us in front of the family altar. The old people used to do that all the time. My sister always insisted on being the first one to get painted, and my father always let her have her way. He would call her to get painted, and I would run away and hide. I didn't care about having my face painted.

Now, on this particular morning Ponah was sleeping late. I told my father: "Hurry up and paint me, because I am going out to ride my horse." He answered: "Wait, your sister is still sleeping." But I kept hurrying him, and finally I said: "I'm not going to have my face painted today if you don't do it right now." He must have been thinking how Ponah would act if he painted me first. But finally he agreed to paint my face, so that I could go out and leave him alone.

As soon as I got my face painted I ran outside, but I forgot

593 302 all about going for a ride. Instead I kept hanging around the window so I could look in and see if she was up yet. Finally I saw her sitting up. She had real long hair, and my mother was combing it. Then my father told my mother to take her outside. We had no toilets in those days. By the time they got back I was already inside and sitting down. Ponah kept looking over at me, but she didn't say nothing. I think she knew that something was wrong, but she didn't know what. My father told my mother to feed her. She asked my mother: "Are there any eggs?" I told her: "Yes, there is a big bird flying around outside and he really has big eggs!" My mother got mad at me right away, but I just said: "Well, she wants bird eggs, and I just want to help her." She just told me to keep quiet.

So, the eggs got cooked and served on a plate to Ponah. She was just about to take her first bite, when I called her, quietly: "Ponah!" She looked at me, and I just pointed at my face. She screamed out loud: "Her face is painted!" and she threw herself back and dropped all her food and just kept screaming like she was injured. My father jumped up, and I ran out the door as fast as I could toward where my horse was. Nobody caught me, but they called after me: "Come back and we will wash your face so that she can be painted first." I was almost by my horse, so I just called to them: "No, I'm already painted, why should I want to wash it off again?" Usually I wiped my face right away after I got painted, but this time I kept the paint on all day. She just kept crying.

CHILDHOOD MEMORIES
by Paula Weasel Head

868 462 592 When we were small we learned about household work by watching our mother, the way that she did things. She was a hard worker and she was very good at everything. That was

512 when he had finished about half of it he would spill the rest out. I think he did that just to show who was the boss. He sure thought highly of himself.

593 While he was drinking his tea I would sit real close to him. He would cuddle me, and my sister would sit across the room and make faces at me. When the food was ready my mother would feed him, and I would eat out of his bowl, with him. My sister thought I was a real brat.

868 251 When I was small I used to have my own sackful of dried meat. My mother always took me along to get the government rations, once a week. When we got home with them she would start cutting up the meat. I sat next to her and did whatever she did. She had a string across the room, up by the ceiling, from which she hung the strips of meat to dry. She put up a string for me and I hung up my own strips. I had my own bags of serviceberries, chokecherries, and bullberries. All of these 415 I had dried. While I was picking them and drying them my 231 father would make me nice bags from the skins of unborn calves and other small animals. I kept all my things in bags back then.

868 857 Sometimes I would have lots of dried food stored up, and my mother would tell me: "Boil some of your meat, we don't have anything to eat in this home." I would jump up and start to cook. We had matching cooking outfits, my sister and I, that our father bought for us at the trading post. We had little cast-iron pots—the kind that have three short legs to stand on. In Blackfoot we call them "having tits." They were really cute little pots.

I would get out my little three-legged pot and prepare the meal. Usually my meals consisted of dried meat, which I boiled with some fat and dried berries. This was training for me to learn how to be when I got older.

593 I always served my father first. One time I was serving out my food and I got to my sister. She said: "I'm not going to eat any of her food, because flies have had babies on them

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and I find them dirty to eat." I started to cry because of it and my father right away looked and said: "What has happened to my girl?" My sister ran out of the house before she could be scolded.

My sister went away to boarding school before I did. That is when I learned the most about our old traditions and religion, because I was around my father all the time. My father and mother took very good care of their holy things, and my father learned all that he could about them. No wonder he grew to be a very old man. Nobody would think of ever going in front of him or in front of his altar. That was strictly forbidden in our religion.

Finally my sister and I were both at the boarding school, and we learned a lot of things from the nuns. They taught us about the modern ways of living, but even these are considered old-fashioned and becoming lost now. When we finished school we both got married and went to live in the homes of our mothers-in-law. And that was when we really learned how things were done and how life goes, after we got married. The rest was just training leading up to that, but our real life didn't start till after marriage and having children.

Mokakin's mother was really good at doing women's work, and she was pleasant to live with. It seemed to me that whatever she did turned out good. And she was very holy and knowledgeable in our religion, too. She and her husband had owned a lot of medicine bundles together. I used to just watch her beading and wonder how it always looked so perfect. I think I learned a lot about being a good wife and housekeeper from my husband's mother.

After I got married I became very lonesome for my father and mother. Even when we were all gathered at the Sun Dance grounds, my mother would camp far away from us and I would hardly see her. She was very old-fashioned, so she would not come anywhere near where her son-in-law was. She would come to our tipi very early in the morning and bring

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Above, Mrs. John Stevens tanning a big elk hide which is tied to a framework of poles. This work was as common to my grandmothers as washing clothes is to me today. Hardly any women in my tribe still tan. This lady is from the neighboring Stoney tribe. As she was an adopted relative of my husband's, we often hired her to tan hides for us. *Below,* the eighty-year-old twins! Mrs. White-Man-Left and Mrs. Eagle Bear have remained close all their long lives, even while raising several families on different parts of the Blood Reserve. They say they have never used mean words toward each other. Both have been keepers of sacred medicine bundles and ancient rituals. (PHOTOS: ADOLF HUNGRY WOLF)

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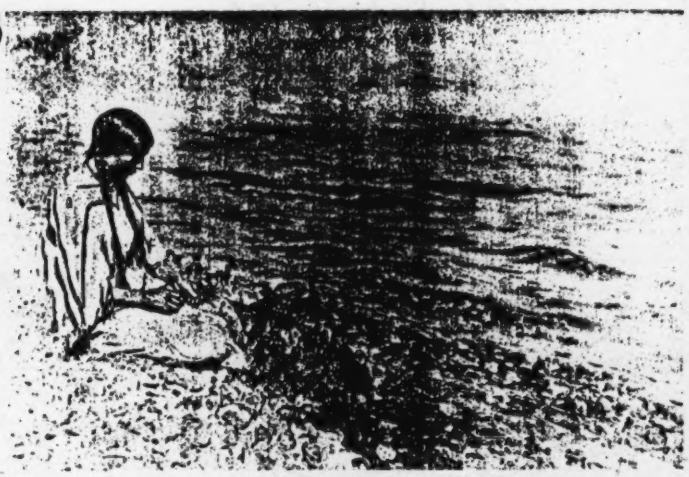

A young Blackfoot woman by the shore of a lake—the way my grandmothers must have sometimes sat and longed for their husbands, gone for weeks or months on the war trails. (PHOTO: COLLECTION OF GOOD MEDICINE FOUNDATION)

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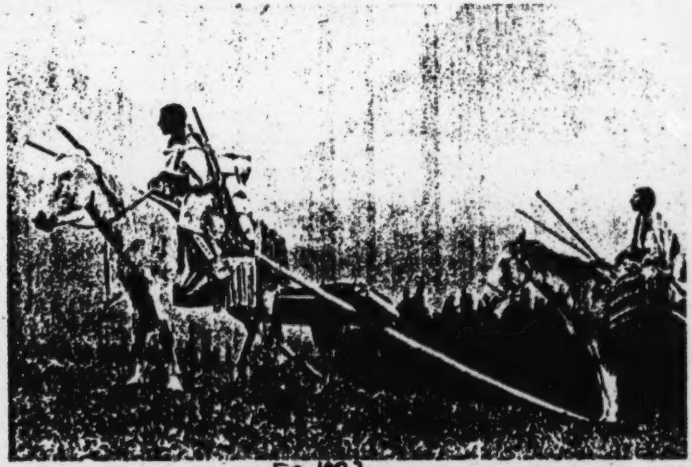
Blackfoot women on the move—the way my grandmothers transported their simple households from one campsite to another. They kept things even more simple in the days before horses, when dogs did the hauling. (PHOTO: COLLECTION OF GOOD MEDICINE FOUNDATION)



[p. 180]

came a famous winner. He warned anyone who 231
came near the horse that no Medicine must ever
be used on it, nor must it ever be ridden double.
One weekend Bird Rattler let his brother Run- 231
ning Rattling take Apistokinii to a nearby race. 593
Many good horses were participating, and Run-
ning Rattling became worried about the strong [426]
competition. So he asked a Medicine Man known
for his successful Powers with horses to give some [541]
of his Power to Apistokinii. The Medicine Man [789]
did, and Apistokinii won the race. That evening
Running Rattling rode the horse back home in
the company of a friend. When the friend's horse [492]
stepped on a sharp stone and went lame, Running
Rattling invited him to ride double. Not long
after, they came to a narrow ravine. Running Rat-
tling urged Apistokinii forward to jump over it.
Burdened with two riders, Apistokinii did not
complete the leap fully. His hind legs slipped
back down the embankment, breaking both hips.
Apistokinii sat, unable to rise. Running Rattling
walked home the rest of the way greatly worried.
He went to bed and said nothing until the next
morning. Bird Rattler was quite saddened when
he was told what happened. He took his rifle and
shot Apistokinii, then covered him with his finest
Hudson's Bay blanket. It was not until much later
that he discovered his brother had disobeyed his
orders.

Bird Rattler's last raid did not end as well as 721
his others. On returning to camp with newly stolen 648
Crow horses, he and his partners, Weasel Tail
and Black Looking, were arrested by Mounted
Police. They were put in ball and chains in the
guardhouse at Fort MacLeod. Managing to
escape, they fled south to their relatives among
the South Piegans of Montana. Weasel Tail and
Black Looking returned to live in Canada, years
later, after the incident had been officially forgot-
ten. Bird Rattler stayed in Montana to become a
successful farmer, an honorable tribal judge, and
Keeper of the Piegan's sacred Circle Dance Medi-
cine Pipe Bundle until his death in 1939.

on to the west side of camp, where they again sat down to await anyone who wished to make offerings. They repeated this at the north and east ends, then returned to their lodge. 575 796 782

The next morning, people would have another opportunity to approach the Motokiks for prayers and blessings, this time in their lodge. There, the prayer seekers would be painted with the Center Pole design. We wished to have Mrs. Red Crow, the society's only remaining Scabby Bull, paint our son Wolf Child, so that he could add this blessing to his young life. [302] [123]

MINIPOKAIKS: THE FAVORITE CHILDREN

That evening, after the camp quieted down, we went next door again to visit Mokakin and Ponah. Eagle Ribs is always happy to entertain his guests with stories and talk. One of that night's subjects was *minipokaiks*—"favorite children." It was a tradition among our People for parents or grandparents to select a child as a favorite, one who showed particular promise to succeed in our Ways, given proper care and Teaching. If the parents of a minipoka went to many ceremonies, the child was likely to grow up to become a ceremonial leader. If the parents went to many social functions, the child was likely to learn much about leadership. Other minipokaiks, however, were simply spoiled and pampered so that they grew up expecting others to help them at the first sign of difficulty. Mokakin told us this legend, The Story of the Abandoned Children, about one minipoka of the long-ago. 574 [517] 593 858 [554] [155] 539 773

This happened a long time ago. I don't know how long. I heard the story told by others when I was young.

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Some children were playing in the bushes by the camp. One of the children was a minipoka. His father was the head chief. Everybody was afraid of this chief; sometimes he got a bad temper, but he was Powerful and a good leader. 773 539

Oki, the kids were playing in the bushes. The minipoka had to go to the toilet, so he went away from the kids where they could not see him. But the other kids, they wanted to know how a minipoka would take care of himself. So they watched through the bushes. When they looked at him, their eyes got big. What fell to the ground was a big pile of pretty shells, the kind Medicine Pipe Owners wear as a necklace. The children ran out from the bushes and grabbed the shells. They were so excited that they knocked the minipoka down and took all the shells. When he got up, all the shells were gone and the kids ran off through the bushes with them, singing and laughing. [301] [237]

The minipoka started to cry and ran home to his father. When he told his father what happened the chief became angry. Right away, he gave the order for camp to be moved and for no one to call home their children. The People had to do what the chief ordered. By the time the children were finished playing and got back to the camp, all they saw were the smoldering fires where their tipis used to be. They all sat down and cried because they knew that they had been abandoned.

One of our Old People was raised as a minipoka by his influential father. His parents located a young girl from a good family to become his wife, even though he was still a boy and living at home. He became a member of the Horns Society when he was only about twelve or fourteen, which is very unusual. The Old People say that even now he still acts like a minipoka and likes to see things done to suit himself. 593 958 [594] [575] [561] [157]

While we talked about minipokaiks, Ponah admitted she had been the minipoka of her father, Iron. She said that they had a painted Medicine Tipi transferred to her. When I asked 593 958 857 [952] [778] [432] [345]

[P.120-A]

what a little girl did with a painted lodge of her own, she told us:

"It wasn't a big tipi. It was just a little tipi for kids to play in. My mother made it for me to play in with my friends. My sister and I, we went to boarding school. My mother, she put up the tipi right by the school, and nobody bothered it. She put in a panichtan [lining], and she tanned some little animals and put the skins around the inside for rugs. She even made little bags from rawhide [parfleches] and put them all around the inside. When my mother came to visit us, she stopped on the way at Long-Nosed Crow's [Wilson's Trading Post] and bought a lot of groceries. Then she told me to invite all my friends to the tipi and we had a big dinner. Even the nuns sometimes came over to sit in the little tipi with us."

Ponah said that the design painted on the tipi had been dreamed of by somebody and was actually transferred to her. The tipi was painted yellow, with four lines of stars going from top to bottom, one line at each of the four directions.

Our conversation wandered on to other things, and of course, Mokakin told us more old Napi stories.

ANOTHER NAPI ADVENTURE

One time, Napi came out from a forest and found a bunch of Gophers playing in a meadow. This was how they played: One of them would lie down in an old fireplace and the others would cover him up with earth and then build a fire on top of him. As soon as the fire got too hot, the buried one would call out, "Tsst, Tsst!" Napi asked the Gophers if he could play, and they told him he could. So he lay down in the fireplace and the Gophers put earth over him and built a fire on top of it. As he got warm, he called out, "Tsst, Tsst!" The Gophers uncovered him. Soon it was Napi's turn to build the fire.

Napi said to the Gophers, "I think it's easier

a granary, drilled a hole in the wall, and the grain poured out into my wagon. I spent the money on liquor. 733 685 159

Eventually the day came when I went broke. I went to jail and my wife shacked up with other men. I had eleven children and they went away while I was in jail. The things I stole, which made me act like a rich man, they all vanished. When I got out of jail I had no place to stay. No one cared for me. They knew I was a drunkard and that I had lived a bad life. 159 733 [593] [937]

But now I pray to God. I quit smoking, I quit drinking, and I quit stealing. I became a Christian. I have a new wife. I pray with her and I don't find life so hard. 733 797 159

MY DAD, HIS NAME IS DOG CHILD

Oki, I am First Rider. Now I am going to tell about my father and mother. My father's childhood name was Singing Amongst. When he grew older, he got a different name. A girl who lived with my father's father, she was a relative, she strung duck beaks and duck legs and tied them around my father's neck. Thus, he became known by the name Duck Necklace. 551 553 [301] [237]

My father's father was Holy Descent; my father's mother was Under Making Noise. There were four sons: Striped Wolf, the eldest; then my father, Duck Necklace; after him, Mistaken Chief; and the youngest was Shoot at Close Range. Holy Descent was ninety-seven years old when he died; he didn't winter the three [didn't live the final three years to become a hundred]. 551

That old man, my grandfather, as the time came, he told his relatives exactly when he would die. "When Morning Star comes up, then I will depart from you." He prepared himself for his death. He put on his good shirt, a thick, spleen-colored material. He put on his coat, a Hudson's Bay blanket, and his leggings, made from a Hudson's Bay blanket. He put his fine-cut tobacco and his pipe beside him. Then he began to tell 763

is a place known as the Snake Pit, which few people have gone into to investigate. Even today, early on a cool morning, one can see the steam rising from the entrance to a large den. It was in that area that Calf Shirt once went to seek a vision, through which he was given the Power of Rattlesnakes. I have never heard the exact story of his vision but the following story is an indication of the Powers it gave to him.

Calf Shirt's sister was married to a Blood named Cree Man, who did not treat her properly. According to custom, a girl's brother could go and take back his mistreated sister, which Calf Shirt did. When Cree Man came to see about his wife, Calf Shirt told him, "If you want your wife back you will have to prove to me that you will devote yourself to her better. To do this you must obtain for me one of my Medicine animals." He then told Cree Man how to get to a particular snake den and how to identify a certain large rattlesnake there. He told Cree Man that the large snake would be curled up outside the entrance to the den. He told him to look for a certain plant in the vicinity. He said, "Put some of this plant in your mouth and chew it. When you see the snake, rub some of it on your hands and pick the snake up by the neck, not too tight, and hold it next to your bare skin until it gets to know you."

Cree Man went to the other side of a place called Turnip Hill, near Lethbridge. When he got there the snakes were just coming out for the morning. He watched until a very large snake emerged and curled up by the doorway. Cree Man spit some of the chewed-up plant on his hands and some on the snake's head. The snake lay very still. Cree Man prayed fervently as he reached forward to pick up the snake. He told it, "I came to get Calf Shirt's Medicine. I am going to take you home with me." He held the snake up against the bare skin of his stomach and the snake coiled itself around his waist. He got on his horse carefully, so that he would not injure the snake or

arouse it, and rode back home as fast as he could. When Cree Man arrived at the camp, Calf Shirt asked for the snake. Cree Man began to shake and cry. He was afraid to touch the snake again lest it bite his stomach. Calf Shirt told him to spit some more of the plant on his hands and on the snake's head, after which Cree Man was able to pick up the snake. Calf Shirt put it into a white sugar bag. 586 593 825 789

Cree Man returned to his home with his wife, but he was unable to sleep for several nights. He continued to have nightmares about rattlesnakes. Calf Shirt sent some sacred paint to him and told him to keep using rattlesnakes for his Power, now that he knew how to handle them. Cree Man just wanted to forget the whole experience.

Calf Shirt used his Rattlesnake Power to doctor various ailments. One of his specialties was sterilizing women. Among his doctoring articles was a buckskin snake that was painted black and had a green glass bead attached to the head and a small bell to the tail. He would lay this snake next to a woman's body, sing his song and give her some kind of Medicine, and the woman would never have children again. 756 842 [737] [531]

Oddly enough, however, he did not have the Power to doctor rattlesnake bites. One time he was careless with the one that he carried with him and it bit him. His relative, old Weasel Head, paid a good horse to a deaf old woman who was able to doctor Calf Shirt until he was well. 756 752 [759]

The Old Man said that Calf Shirt was famous everywhere, but that few people came very near him, because they feared his snakes. He always kept one in a cloth or buckskin bag inside his shirt, by his stomach. The Old Man said, "If he came and sat down at a dance or gathering, everyone around him would get up in a hurry and sit somewhere else. We always wondered what he fed his snakes." 756 231 [554]

Calf Shirt's Powers taught him to design a sacred tipi. It was painted blue and had rattle- 756 778 532

snakes drawn around its sides. John Red Crane was one of the later owners of this tipi. 756 778

Calf Shirt was the son of Spotted Bear, and he was noted for his bravery during the war days. I have not heard of any stories in which he took his rattlesnakes along to war. In 1870 it is recorded that he led a war party that killed seven Crees, and during which he captured a pipe-tomahawk. Seven Persons Creek, in southeast Alberta, is said to have been named for this incident. 532 756 721

There was another Blood named Calf Shirt who is sometimes confused with "Rattlesnake Calf Shirt." This other one, sometimes referred to as "Mad Calf Shirt," is thought to have been the strongest and meanest Blood that ever lived. He was a minor chief who kept his People in line by beating them up and occasionally killing them. His terrible temper was all the worse because of his fondness for liquor. He had two wives, and the older one was the only person who could control him at all. Sometimes when he was drunk she would grab him by the ear and tell him, "Listen to me, you old man!" His younger wife once tried to keep him from fighting by offering him a kiss, but he almost bit her lip off. 622 156 273 [593]

Mad Calf Shirt met his end at the hands of Joe Kipp and some others operating a whiskey trading post by a place called Left Bank, some ways east of Fort MacLeod. Calf Shirt entered the trading post late one night in an awful mood, demanding more liquor. The traders mixed strychnine with the brew and expected to see him drop to the ground. Instead, he became even more violent, threatening to kill those who were near him. Someone hit him over the head with an axe, from behind, but the handle broke and the axe only bloodied his head. The traders then fired several shots from close range into Calf Shirt. That ended his fighting. They dragged his body down to the frozen river, chopped a hole in the ice, and stuffed his body through. The next morning his wives went to look for him and found his body lying down, outside of the hole. They began 177 763 [533]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Hungry Crow was sent to the penitentiary in Rocky Mountain House for a five-year term. Black Rabbit was captured across the line and sent to the Deer Lodge Penitentiary. Later, when he was released, he was given enough money to take a train to Browning, Montana. From there he started to walk home, until he saw a camp of covered wagons on his way. He waited until dark, then went to the camp and got himself some four-legged transportation. Shot-on-Both-Sides was captured and then released on the recognition of his father, who was head chief. Crazy Crow was captured later and sent to the penitentiary for six months. While he was gone it is said that his brother, Plain Woman, ended up with his wife. When Crazy Crow came back and heard about it, he said, "That is all right. She is not the only woman on the reserve." He found himself a new wife and stayed on good terms with his first one.

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177
[721]
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[593]

[p. 304-A]

585 me some. Then she gave me the rawhide con-
[431] tainer to put my toys in.

I got very lonesome after I was there for three days. There was a lump in my throat. I
585 wasn't thinking of my mother. I was thinking of
593 my father, because I loved him the most. A per-
[152] son asked me, "What is the matter with you?" I told her, "My necklaces are too tight, that is why I am crying." So she tied them looser. She knew that I was lonesome and longing for my parents. She said, "Both of you will go down, you will go to see your mother." I was anxious to go, so we went.

When we came to the top of the ridge I saw my home down in the valley. I was really happy. I didn't even greet my mother. I jumped on my father and was hugging him. I was so glad to see him. We slept there, and in the morning we started coming westward.

593 After two years, the mother of the one that I
592 married went up west. . . . I proved myself, and
602 now what kind of fingers I have for all the work I did? I started cooking right then. I was nine years old when she went up west, and the other mother of my husband, his real mother's sister, she was very mean to me. That is why I am not mean to my daughters-in-law, because this woman was very mean to me. I used to carry two big buckets of water, and she never fed me any bread. Before I went to sleep I used to steal some bread and I went to bed with it and ate it. My husband used to get mad at me because the crumbs were all over the bed. There, I told you the story plainly, just the way I know about my marriage.

Mrs. Wadsworth and her husband took an
778 active part in the Old Ways of our People. For
425 several years they had the Backside-to-the-Fire Pipe. The Pipe was transferred to them while they were living on the land east of Stand Off. The ceremony was held inside of the Upside-Down-Buffalo-Head Tipi, which was given to them by old Shot-on-Both-Sides. Natosina helped with the pipe transfer. He sang the songs for them to wake us by. [P. 341-A]

Pipe transfer. He sang the songs for them to wake up by. 000

MRS. FRANK RED CROW

Mrs. Red Crow, who is known as Singing-in-the-Water, is the sister of Ponah and the widow of Frank Red Crow; her father was old Iron. She was born in 1902 and spent much of her life married to Frank's uncle, Francis Red Crow. She became a widow, then married Frank some time after his wife died. 115 [587]

Mrs. Red Crow says she always had respect for the Old Ways, but she never cared to have sacred things transferred to her. One time, when she and Ponah were still quite young, their grandmother put up a Medicine Lodge:

Nobody made a vow to cut up the hide, so our dad, Iron, told everybody, "My daughters, they can do it." He came and he told us to come up to the front with him. I didn't want to but he made me. While they were getting the things ready I saw that no one was watching and I just ran away as fast as I could and found a place to hide until they were finished. 796

Before she married Frank Red Crow she had lived a fairly modern life, without following most of the Old Ways. She didn't know Frank very well but thought that he was very faithful to the Old Ways. She didn't know anything about him selling sacred Bundles to Mrs. Walters during the 1930s. 593 [439]

She learned about his selling holy things quite by accident—literally. Not long after their marriage they loaded their truck with camping gear and headed for Great Falls, Montana. Frank brought along an ancient-looking rawhide container, which he wrapped in cloth and laid on the front seat beside him. She did not ask what was inside. Not long before Great Falls, while driving in the dark, they ran into some livestock on the 593 439 778

highway. Their truck was quite damaged, although they escaped injury. The driver of a passing auto offered them a ride. They took most of their equipment and crammed it into the cab, to lock it up. 593 778 439

The next day when they returned to their truck, they discovered that someone had stolen everything. This made Frank quite upset. So she asked him what was inside the old rawhide container. He told her that it had contained the flag and other sacred articles for the ancient Mountain Sheep Painted Tipi, and that he was going to be paid well for it in Great Falls. That made her quite upset and she told him so and got Frank to agree not to sell any more sacred things.

Apparently, Frank and his previous wife had made quite a business of selling Indian things. When she first married him, one wall of his house was covered with shelves containing all sorts of craft materials—beads, shells, hides, dyed porcupine quills, and even sacred paints. His first wife was an excellent craftsman who could reproduce most any item and make it look quite old. 439

Mrs. Red Crow gave us the woman's collection of odd-shaped stones from which Iniskims could be made. She also showed us a bag of shells, some of them already strung up and painted as Medicine Pipe Owners' necklaces. She said that Frank told her he used to help Robert Wilson with his picture-taking during the Sun Dance Encampments. Later he admitted that he sold two Bundles that had been transferred to him—a Soldier's Pipe that he got from a man called Small Buttocks, and a Crow Water Bundle (which was somewhat similar to our own Beaver Bundles) that he got from Gros Ventre Boy. [432] [778]

In his old age, Frank Red Crow joined the sacred ceremonies in a sincere way and had the respect of his People. He adopted his little granddaughter Agnes as his minipoka, and taught her about some of the Old Ways. 554 [858]

Ponah once asked us if we ever wondered why the shawl covering our sacred Pipe Bundle 378

23: Wissler E-4,5 (1902-ca.1911) 1918
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

796 793 837 783 Being a good and true woman, like all others who give the sun dance, she spurned him. Next day she told her husband the whole story. He was very angry. He was not satisfied with the confession she made, but suspected that she must have given the young man some encouragement. So when all the medicinemen and women had come into the tipi to rehearse the songs as usual, he made a statement of these suspicions and as he had two wives, he proposed to have them change places.

[756] The medicinemen pleaded for the first wife because they believed her innocent, but the husband was obdurate. So the second wife was called in to take the place. Then the first wife said, "It was I who saved this man's life when he was ill. I made the vow to give the sun dance and he got well. I have suffered much in fasting, all for him. Now he disgraces me before all the people. But I will put my virtue to a test. If I am true, I have already acquired power."

[782] [821] [789] She filled a pipe, went outside and standing now on the east side of the tipi, then on the south, the west, and the north, she addressed the sun. The day was clear, but soon after the woman entered the tipi, thunder was heard. A storm came down with hail and blew over many tipis. But in spite of these proofs, her husband was obdurate and the second wife went on with the ceremony.

796 [755] 593 Not long after the sun dance this same man became ill again. Finally, as a last resort, he called upon the first wife to save him again. This woman told him to call upon the other woman as he seemed to have so much faith in her. So he died and was properly punished for so unjustly treating his faithful wife.

The Procession to the Dancing Lodge.

796 778 793 788 In our account of the natoas ritual we told how the father, son, etc., emerge from their tipi. The file is headed by the father, followed by the son, next the mother, then the medicine woman followed by women bearing the tongues. The father and the son are muffled in blankets (robes); the latter walks with bowed head, leaning heavily on a staff and bearing over his head a wild rhubarb stalk.[1] The medicine woman wears the natoas on her head, an elkskin (often buckskin) dress and an elkskin robe, with the digging-stick on her back. For a staff, she uses one of the smudge sticks. The women in her rear bear parfleches containing the tongues, together with blankets and other ordinary objects. Two or three old men act as

[534] [824] [262]

[1] Scar-face is said to have made a whistle (flageolet) of such a stalk. The pith of the growing plant is sometimes eaten for food.

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Making of a Warrior[1]

000 It was June, 1881, and dull were the days at Joseph Kipp's lonely trading post at Carroll on the south bank of the Missouri. The Indians had all moved out upon the plain to summer hunt, and empty, monotonous were the hot, slowly passing days to us.

"This is no fun, sitting here day after day, doing nothing, Let me go camp with the Blackfeet for a time," I said to Kipp one day.

"Sure! Go! Have a good time," he answered.

I saddled my buffalo horse, tied on a roll of blankets, and, with Winchester rifle, plenty of cartridges, and some tobacco for presents, set off. Before evening I arrived in the camp of the Blackfeet in a well-timbered bottom of the Musselshell just below the mouth of Crooked Creek. A close friend of mine was Fox Eyes, son of Crazy Dog. They welcomed me, and at once the old man's wife, Badger Woman, and their pretty daughter, Little Bird Woman, prepared a soft buffalo couch for me and gave me to eat. In the evening the head chief of the tribe, Crow Foot, invited me to a feast-and-smoke in his lodge. It was late when I returned to Crazy Dog's lodge and took to my couch.

525 •593 [411] Wise, frugal, forceful Badger Woman was the head of that little family; Fox Eyes, with his muzzle-loading rifle, its provider; and Crazy Dog, its wasteful burden. An inveterate gambler, on that afternoon, in a hide-the-bone game with some of his cronies, he lost the skins of two beavers that he had caught and then tried to sneak

[1] First published in *The Youth's Companion* (December 8, 1910).

off with two of Fox Eyes' catch. But Badger Woman caught him in the act, snatched the hides from him, and scolded: "You nothing one! You always-losing gambler! Taking of our son's beaver trappings that I am saving until there will be enough of them to buy him a many-shots gun like the one *Apikuni*, here, has. You know how hard it is for him, with his old powder-and-ball gun to provide us with the meat and hides that we need. But still you would steal of his catches to gamble them off! Oh, you shameless, you hard-minded one!" And at that, without a word of reply, Crazy Dog returned to his cronies, lost all of the tobacco that he had, and then came to me begging for more.

"You know how it is," he whispered. "I am so crippled that I cannot hunt. So I gamble. My woman, of course, she scolds me, but I don't mind it. Her heart is good. Well, *Apikuni*, sneak to me some of your tobacco and I will again try to win—plenty win."

Said Fox Eyes to me on the following morning: "*Apikuni*, you know that I have never endured the sacred fast. I have never had time for it; my father crippled, unable to hunt, I have, ever since I grew up, been the sole provider for our lodge. But now the time has come when I must have my fast. So this I ask of you: be you our hunter, provider of meat, while I endure it."

"Yes, I will be your family's hunter; but why are you now so minded to fast sacredly?" I said.

"Because I want to be a real man, a warrior, a member of the Doves, or the Raven Carriers, or some other band of the All Friends warriors society. I have already decided upon my fasting place: a cliff facing Big River and close above the mouth of this South Bear River."

Badger Woman and Little Bird Woman, listening to our talk, became excited and pleased. Said the mother: "Oh, Fox Eyes! Oh, my son! I am so glad that, at last, you are to do this. Too long have you been a lonely, friendless one, unable to join a war party, unable to take part in the dances and the happy feast gatherings of any of the All Friends bands. But now all that is to end. Oh, how proud I shall be of you, someday seeing you returning with a war party, waving enemy scalps, singing the victory song, riding and driving before you enemy horses."

28: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1967 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

held in his father's arms long after such attention was necessary. And when he joined other children in the play camp, he was not the "husband" of some willing little girl, as was a less protected youngster. His sister remained his watchful "mother." In the main, his close companions were *minipoka* like himself, an arrangement that not only fostered a blatant élitism, but also protected the "privileged" from being ganged up on by less favored children.

Nor was the "child of plenty" permitted to visit around and stay out overnight as other boys did. Nor could he attend the socially convivial "tea dances" along with other young blades. But when his father went on a trip, the *minipoka* was, whenever possible, the companion of his choice. It goes without saying that the favorite wore fine clothes, rode good horses with beautiful trappings, married with ostentatious display. Moreover, as he grew to manhood, he was spared the onerous participation in the hunt and the dangers of the warpath. He trusted to his father's wealth to bring him positions of respect. And this trust was not misplaced. Among the Blackfoot, "great deeds in social and ceremonial life would alone elevate one to the status of headman."[22]

True, the favorite was expected to be "generous" to all and sundry. More often, however, his training made him lazy and parasitical, readier to exploit the labor of others than to add to their support.

Originally a means for validating a father's wealth, the institution of the favorite child had secondary consequences—among them, the reinforcement of sibling rivalry, the encouragement of dependency in a society where self-reliance was a major objective, and the forging of strong affectional bonds between a father and his child, most usually between a father and his son. And it is this last that has particular importance for the way in which the father image is revealed in every-day life.

Being a favorite meant submission to certain restrictions—less freedom of movement, less participation in some of the more adventurous or romantic aspects of Blood society; and, at times, this was resented. But we have no record of any Blood who rejected the substantial attentions and advantages offered by favoritism. For the *minipoka*, the father became the "giver" *par excellence*, the only reliable "giver," since their statuses were so inextricably linked.[23]

[22] Clark Wissler, "The Social Life of the Blackfoot Indians," p. 23.

[23] In the reserve period, the government was actually more "reliable." But favoritism continued and with it patterns of an earlier time that still had relevance. In fact, those Blood who had no horses, and so could not make the traditional investments in ceremonial paraphernalia and society memberships, etc., but who were otherwise successful, had favorites "the American Way"—that is, they dressed their children well and showered them with expensive gifts.

28: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1967 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

But whether one was on the giving or receiving end, the relationship between a father and his *minipoka* became an exceptionally warm and satisfying one. Many of the father's gestures (his special and fine gifts to his favorite, his solicitude for the latter's comfort, and his eagerness for his companionship) were understood as demonstrations of love; and the favorite's unwillingness to be separated for any long period of time from his indulgent parent—and this even after he married—indicated the depth of his filial affection. Other fathers might be "tricksters," might abandon wife and child, but a *minipoka's* father could be relied upon to fight for the possession of his favorite son, no matter where he intended going or with whom.

To be a *minipoka* then, was highly attractive, materially and emotionally; for besides the direct benefits of wealth and position, the "child of plenty" enjoyed a continuing love and devotion in a very insecure world. Those less privileged found consolation in less rewarding substitutions and subterfuges, some parent-initiated, some inspired by their own needs. Proudly they might mention an otter skin on which they had lain at birth, a weasel-tail suit given them by a loving father, a beaded bag which held their umbilical cord; or they might recall how as a child they had played with the "real" favorites, or how a father's early death had cut short their "honorings," or alone had prevented them from becoming *minipoka*. But however gratifying such memories were to the individuals who evoked them, they never brought community recognition. Only when the spending was great and continual was a child considered a "true" *minipoka* by the Blood. Only then could he be assured of position and prestige.

Equally significant was the manner in which favoritism was extended. Understandably, this process was more outspoken and probably went further in families which were actually supporting a "child of plenty," for it was here that rivalrous feelings were particularly stimulated. But even in more ordinary families, a child thought of himself as *someone's* favorite, if not his father's, then a grandfather's or grandmother's, or aunt's, or even an own mother's, although this was rare.[94] In any case, the same comfort and support was expected from these different relatives as the "true" favorite received from his father. In some

[94] In a situation where the father was increasingly invoked as "good," numerous customs and conceptions fostered the "bad" mother image. The mother might "throw away" a newborn infant. She might abandon husband and child for reasons of lust. Her blood polluted (she was isolated at childbirth and could not approach a sick person, tend ceremonial paraphernalia, or be present "when medicine was at work" if she was menstruating). She might be "manly hearted," taking the initiative particularly in matters of sex. She was the instrument through whom sorcery power was attained. And finally she was the disciplinarian in the home.

28: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1967 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

families these relationships were taken very seriously. In all, no matter how limited the material benefits, they gave an added security to children whose sense of belonging was often shaken.

But such extensions did not alter the traditional basis of favoritism. It was the father who, almost always established a *minipoka*, and it was the father who remained the symbol of the "giver." To say, "He was like a father to me," not only implied that the individual referred to had something to offer, but that the speaker had benefited from his generosity and love. That a "true" *minipoka* might see his father as "giver" is quite understandable. But others who had enjoyed little, if any, of the favorite's privileges built a similar image. Unpleasant treatment at the hands of a father or father substitute (frequently an older brother-in-law) was recalled with little display of hostility or repressed altogether.

A man whose father had "walked out on the family" would tell with obvious pleasure of the latter's kindness to him during a short visit years afterwards; or, a man who was "raised" by his grandmother and shunted about from place to place, would say of the various heads of the households he had stayed in, "They all treated me like a son," although none of them, not even those who had "special power," conspicuously demonstrated their affection for him; or a man who had donned women's clothes and attempted suicide because his *minipoka* brother-in-law was the accepted family head, would speak most enthusiastically of the latter's "goodness" to him.

Thus it is clear that as more wealth accumulated—and this holds for the nonnative as well as for the native forms—a son's status, privilege and prestige was tied more and more to his father's; and more and more, a son felt impelled to insist that his father was outstandingly good and generous. For the *minipoka* the gap between fact and profession may not have been too great. For those who wanted to keep up with the Joneses—the less privileged and the little-privileged, and these were the overwhelming majority—it must have been wide indeed. Under these circumstances, the trickster tales undoubtedly fulfilled an important function: in a society where the institutions encouraged an idealization of the father, they offered a vigorous and uncensored release for the son's repressed feelings of aggression.

So interpreted, the differently weighted father images evoked in Blood mythology and in daily living generally become understandable. Equally understandable is the increased popularity of the trickster tales.

residence, band, family connections, household, and societal memberships. These cards have been in my possession for many years and I shall be more than happy to make them available for study to any interested scholar. Finally, if anyone knows the present whereabouts of Marjorie Lismer I would appreciate hearing from them, care of the Plains Anthropologist.

Esther S. Goldfrank

INTRODUCTION

Adoption, in one form or another, is commonly found in most parts of the world and yet its mechanics are seldom recorded in any detail. With the Blackfoot it is now a well established custom and the Indians themselves say it was frequent in former times.

The Blood reserve, where these studies were made in the summer of 1939, is an area of 600 square miles in southern Alberta near the International Boundary. About 1450 people are spread over the reserve, in scattered households, with related families tending to cluster together. There are, roughly, 280 of these households, varying in size from those where several families, either of brothers, or of a man and his married children, live together in the same house.

The more prosperous families often have two houses, a farm where they live most of the summer until after the wheat and oats are harvested, and another house nearer the range where their cattle and horses graze. This does not mean that certain houses are unoccupied for half the year. There always seems to be a relative and his family to be accommodated in the other house. Means of subsistence include grain growing, cattle raising, and horse breeding. Horses, however, are not a source of money to any great extent but are used for exchange within the reserve. Government rations and subsidies are given to families who cannot support themselves. There are about a hundred households on destitute rations. Compared with neighboring reserves, however, the number on relief is relatively low.

A feature of family life that strikes even the most casual observer is the fluidity of the family group. Husbands and wives change partners with great ease and frequency, especially among the younger people. Marriages are very informal in many cases and requires little formality for divorce. This is of special interest to our problem since this breakup of the family frequently leave

the children without a home. Generally the children, especially the infants, follow their mother, either back to her parents' home or into a new marriage. But the new husband does not always welcome his wife's children and a problem is created. 586 543 [587]

This apparently casual attitude towards children would suggest there is little concern for their welfare, that they might be regarded as more or less unwelcome hinderances to their parents' activities. It would be interesting to know the degree to which their presence influences the decision of their parents to separate or to remain together. Probably very little, since no child goes uncared for. Children may sometimes be regarded as nuisances by the younger people, but among the older folk they are definitely desired. They frequently express the wish to have young children about and this is, in a large measure, substantiated by the number of people who take their grandchildren to raise, although not always to adopt. It is felt that a person with no children will have no one to care for him in his old age. It is said that an adopted child knows what has been done for him and out of gratitude will assume more care for his foster parents than will their own children. 855 597 [855] [858]

Nearly half the households on the reserve have children living with them that were not born there. The frequency with which children are sent to live outside their own immediate family is quite noticeable. Here I should like to mention my reluctance to rely upon statistics to emphasize my points. I have a record of about 50 cases that may be considered definite adoptions, to which may be added at least 12 doubtful cases. To these are again added 20 or more even more doubtful cases, which may be just prolonged visits by a child to relatives. The 50 cases of adoption cover those of which people are aware, but I do not doubt that there are many more that have long since been forgotten. In the minds of the community the adopted children soon merge with the rest of the family. 597 597 128

Three main categories can be distinguished within this general pattern of mobility. First of all are cases where a child is visiting relatives. These visits may be of prolonged or short duration and vary in frequency. It may be a case of grandparents looking after the child while there is trouble at home between the parents, because there are too many small children to be cared for there, or for no other reason than that it is nice to visit elsewhere. 855 597

if necessary someone is sure to look after them. 597

Boarding schools have introduced a new factor into this question of age. If separation or death of its parents occurs once the child is in school the need for a home is not so pressing, and the boy or girl can usually be accommodated with relatives for the holidays without phrasing it as an adoption. It is also possible to remain in the care of the school throughout the year. 855 597 586 168

Children in the great majority of cases go to relatives for adoption, although the relationship may be remote. These are often relatives acquired through adoption the previous generation. The families to which these children go are almost equally divided between the relatives of the mother and the father. There are instances, too, where no relatives are involved. In these cases the stated reasons for adopting were that they wanted children, or were sorry for some child and feared that it would not be well treated under some new conditions, such as the remarriage of the father or mother. 597

It is said that girls and boys are equally desirable, likewise the children of either strangers or relatives. Although the great majority of children taken are boys, this does not seem to me significant, for one does not hear of girl babies being passed over. It is natural that most of the children should be taken by relatives since they would be the first to hear of the need for adoption. In many cases the families would be living close together, and it would mean very little adjustment for the child to settle in a new home. In one instance a baby and its father were living with the latter's father's sister and her husband, and when the father married again he just left the child with his aunt who adopted it. 587

Similarly, from the point of view of the foster family there is likely to be little disturbance of the household. There is constant visiting of both children and adults, and when a more permanent relationship is assumed it does not disrupt the existing conditions. 597 182 574

In the majority of cases when a child is introduced into a foster home there are no young children living there at the time. There may never have been any in that household or they may all have grown up and left. In the few instances where young children were still there, there seems to have been little disturbance. In one case a younger girl was adopted after a boy had been taken, and it was remarked that no conflict arose between them since they had previously been playmates, living near one another. I am inclined 597 593

to believe this is frequently the case. 597

In the households that have adopted children, or are raising them, one might expect to encounter rivalries between the siblings and the adopted children. However, these rivalries are minimized to a large degree through age differences between the children. Where several adoptions have occurred in one family one can see how this operates. An adopted child was ten years old and already in school when a boy was born into the family. Both these children were married and away from home when a third child, a five year old boy, was adopted. In such a situation there is minimal opportunity for conflicts. 593

It is almost invariably said that adopted children are exceptionally well treated. It is thought that the adopted child is often accorded better treatment than a man's own child. There appears to be a good deal of truth in this, for adopted children seem to be consistently well cared for, to the best of their foster parents' ability. Naturally, the number of things done for them depends upon the wealth of the adopting family. In a prosperous one the child might even be considered *minipuka* or favorite child, a more or less institutionalized way of showing special affection for a child. [858]

It is felt to be quite natural for a man to be more concerned over the care of an adopted child than over his own. In the first place, he desired the child enough to ask for it. If he doesn't look after it carefully people will talk about him and say that if he cannot do better than he is doing he ought to return it. To be forced into such a course would be a great disgrace. The Blackfoot, who are materialists as well as sentimentalists, also point out that when a child has grown up and is in a position to care for his parents, he will be especially grateful to those who gave him a good home. Thus the child becomes something of an investment which will mature later when the parents are growing old and need the support of sons and daughters. [626] [858] [888]

Lowie, speaking of the Crow, says that adopted children are exceptionally well treated, as if this were compensation for the subconscious feeling that the tie is after all fictitious (Lowie 1920:78). 171

A situation in which an adopted child is given preferred treatment over a man's own children seems fraught with trouble. One would expect any number of cases where there was dissension, to say the least, between the children in a family. But instances of this sort are rare. There is one 597

533 All singers face the centre of the circle and beat a single large drum with cloth-covered
535 sticks.

Although there are numerous Owl Dance songs, none has words. They consist only of a melodious chanting. It is not uncommon for the singers to preside at dances from eight o'clock in the evening until eight o'clock next morning without repeating a single song. Many of these tunes are born in the fertile imagination of modern singers, so that each year there is a popular "hit parade" of new songs.

As no names are given individual songs, each one is identified by singing the first few bars. Usually one of the singers will say, "Here, let's sing this one," and begin the song. His companions will wait until he has completed the first portion and then join
[562] in. On some occasions women will stand beside the bench and add their high-pitched nasal style of singing, but they are never allowed to sit with the men or remain at the bench during the Chicken Dance.

535 In addition to the normal clockwise movement of the dancers, there are many minor steps; and new routines are continually being added. The most popular variations are the "turnabout" and "turning on the spot" features. While the dance is in progress, the announcer may shout, "Turn around and dance in the opposite direction." At this cry there is general confusion for a moment as everyone turns round and dances in a counter-clockwise direction.

In the other variation the announcer may call, "Turn each other around." This consists of a slow turnabout movement, with the partners retaining their "schottische" hold. They then wait a moment to hear if he shouts, "Now do it again." This latter feature causes a great deal of amusement among the dancers, as there is often still some confusion after the first call.

Throughout the dance, the announcer is continually moving among the crowd, urging everyone to join in. The literal translation of a popular call is: "Don't waste all
[526] this good music. Get up and dance." A few decades ago, it was customary for the announcer to carry a small whip with him to strike the legs of persons who would not get up to dance. However, this has not been necessary within the past few years, as the floor is usually filled to capacity with willing dancers.

178 In the dance itself, there are a few restrictions which have been carried over into
535 modern social dancing from earlier customs, though many of them have suffered revision in the compromise with modern society.

[576] Among the Bloods, it is the woman who asks the man to dance, and it is con-
[562] sidered highly insulting for a man to refuse without good reason. In the old days, a woman could publicly denounce a man for this action and strike him across the back as an obvious sign of distaste.

When the dance has ended, the male dancer is not required to show his partner to her seat, but returns to his own place, leaving the woman to her own resources.

[593] Most interesting is the custom prohibiting a man and his wife from dancing to-
602 gether. A few years ago this custom also forbade dancing with blood relatives such as brothers, sisters, parents, aunts, uncles, nieces, or nephews, but it is in force today only
518 against married couples. Needless to say, this custom has given rise to numerous jealous arguments in which a wife complains about her husband's being chosen by one particular woman, or the husband protests his wife's choice of partners.

It is therefore probably a wise ruling that considers it in bad taste for dancing partners to carry on a conversation.

48: Bushnell A-4 (no date) 1927 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

it. I spoke to her and she pointed to a tree, where hidden within the branches lay a little bundle, the darling of her bosom, recently dead. She turned from me and sang her coronach, mentioning the name of her babe and calling upon it to come back to her. Deeply and tender these Indian mothers love their children, and no suffering is too great for them to bear on their behalf." (Maclean, p. 66.)

In the same account is a reference to the placing of the dead "in the crotches of trees, or raised platforms, and in lodges," the latter probably resembling the similar form of burial as mentioned among the Crow and Oglala. The writer whose work has just been quoted continues and gives a brief description of the treatment of the sick, and likewise of conditions that exist after death. He says: "When anyone is sick a part of the garments of the sick person is placed upon the top of the lodge, that being shaken by the wind the prairie spirits may be induced to stop upon their journey, and the medicine man earnestly performs his incantations and giving of medicines, assisted by the friends of the sick person, and the gods, listening to the prayers, will aid in the overthrow of the evil genius which dwells in the body. During a severe time of sickness in one of the camps, as I sat beside the medicine man in one of the lodges, a large number of children were brought in, and the medicine man, taking the dress from the top of the lodge, rubbed the children's persons with it, as a protection against the attack of the disease. When anyone dies, he is said to have gone to the Sand Hills.

"The people are afraid of the spirits of the dead, and at once they remove the lodge, and sometimes even tear down the house, lest the spirit of the deceased return and inflict injury upon the living. They believe that the spirits of the dead hold communion with each other, and require food and clothing like the living, only as they are spiritual, they need the spiritual part, and not the material, for their sustenance. (Op. cit., p. 67.)

Arapaho

The ancient habitat of the Arapaho, before they reached the open prairie lands to follow the buffalo, was probably in the timbered regions northeast of the Minnesota River.

The Atsina, a division of the Arapaho more closely connected with the Blackfeet, were usually mentioned by the early narrators as the Gros Ventres of the Prairies, and as such they were alluded to by Maximilian. The latter wrote during August, 1833: "The Gros Ventres des Prairies . . . In the main, their customs agree with those of the Blackfeet, and they dispose of their dead in the same manner." (Maximilian, p. 284.)

[pp. 14-86 not processed]

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

539 matáisiststot. A´utòsaie, ákitanis-
224 tsiuaie: *A´*nnik inán osíksinàni sisíkit. A´kstamaisìkomoauaie. Ki omí isíststàni ki omík inánik ákitaipaxkstsĭp. Omí iníani ákitomonimaie omí isíststàni. A´kitaipaxkstsimaie.

Their eyes [the bulls' eyes] were dusty. They would rub the knives a little, with them they cut their backs open. They were all skinned from the back down. Then they would throw out their kidneys. And the oil and grease would gather about their navels. They would throw down the yellow back-fat and spread it out. The man would tell his wife: Take and wash the manifold. When she came back, he would say to her: That leg-bone, the oily leg-bone, just break that. It would be broken for him. And the manifold and the marrow of the leg would burst by chewing. He would roll the marrow in the manifold. He would burst it by chewing it.

[492] A´ĭksistsìnotau. Aiaiákapotsiu. Sotámotapòtsiu. Sotámaχkàpiuaie omá aké. Aχkóskau. Ki omá
539 nínàua kákàupiu. Omí otoχkéman
593 iχ´pitsípimin aiísisoaχpi. Sikánoyisoyimanàii, makáutskimaikim,
606 sapásoyinimàn, ókoani
224 otsítaχsiχ´p, kínuyaie nitsísoyìsoau. Otánik omí otoχkéman: Noχkátsimàt. Omaχkínaiks ánnikskaie áminaiks. Amóksi akéks áisksòsinu otsítaksìnamaχpúàuaists. Asótsimàni itaisínàkiauaists,
[262] ki inúiskinètsimàni, nitápskinetsimàni ki aisóisàtsis. *A´*nnyaie iχ´tanístsisitapìop omí otokís. Omá nínàua támatapàisaisto: A´iχ´kitsísi ítsitsinnànists, áiàkitopakìop.
539 A´mok Kináksisaχtàii ákitsiksi-
224 sapistutsop. A´mistoiauk sipátsi-
574 niuà. A´kitsiitsimàup. Mátsaistò:

He had done skinning. Then he began to pack his meat [on a horse]. Then he came home with the meat. Then the woman [his wife] brought it [the horse with the meat] home [to her own parents]. He [her husband] stretched his hand out [that means: gave the meat to his parents-in-law]. And the man [the husband] just sat [inside of his lodge]. His wife came in with the son-in-law's [that means: her husband's] food. The broken boss-rib, the short rib, the gut with the blood in it, the tripe where it is good, with those [four] things he [the son-in-law] was fed [by his parents-in-law]. He was told by his wife: Give an invitation. The old men, those were the ones he

539 584 585 annik nómoχtàtotomaχk. Nitsitótoχsi atákuyi, ki itaníu: Mátastaχpa, nákitapòχsi kokóai. Ki annóm ákitaupàuop. A´, nitákitaχkapiaii nitáinakàsim. Itaníu: A´. Nisótamatskomaχk. A´utako tsitóto. Sótamitsòk. Ki aisámo, nitákoχkèmsini, nitáutomatàpaχkai. Ki itáχsitakiu, nákoχpoksìmaχsi. Sótamitaupi, ómaχkaistuyì tsítèupi. Kenní nepúyi tsítatoapoχkèmatàu. Natoápoyìsi, énnimaie itstsíu. Kénni nisótamipuχsapaiaχsaupiχ´pinan, ki kénnoχkauk, náχkoχkaiakietoχsinan. Ki annóχk nitáumatapietaχtàmiskani. Ki annóm natoiéksistsikuyi tsítotoisàipiaii Maníua A´pssùyi. Annóm oksístoauai itáupiiau annóχk. Ki annóχk itástsinaupi íkskàumaitau, ìstuyíu. Stsíka mátâχkototaua. Ki kénnimaie nómâχketsinìki.

539 593

people-woman] told me: In the morning I will tell her again. Then [having been told by Snake-people-woman, that she ought to marry me] she said: Yes. Then I told [Snake-people-woman]: I will go and get the waggon, I will bring her home with it. She said: Go ahead. Then I went home. I got the waggon, and I came back with it. When I got back in the evening, [Charging-home] said: I don't like to go [literally: that I shall go] to your home. And now we shall stay here. [I said:] Yes, I shall bring my waggon home. She said: Yes. Then I went home. In the evening I got there. Then I slept. And after a while I got back to be married [literally: for my going to be married]. And she consented, that I should remain with her together. Then I stayed there, I stayed there the whole winter. And in summer I got married by the priest. It was in the church. And then we lived together all-right till now, and it is now [just the same], that there is nothing to part us yet. And now I began to work on the ditch. And [last] Sunday I took Mary and White-whiskers [my step-children] out of school [and brought them] here. They are staying now here with their mother. And to-day, [this] Saturday, there is awfully much rain, it is cold. Some [of the people] have got no wood [to make a fire]. And this is the end of my story.

54: Lancaster F-3(1958-1966)1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

Part of my afternoon was passed in just thumbing through old magazines and mail-order catalogues, and although this type of reading is not to be recommended as a steady diet, it certainly is revelatory of a basic difference between the personality structures of Whites and Indians. A great deal of modern advertising is obviously directed by the knowledge that the White person, whether male or female, has become so confused by the rapidly changing roles of both men and women within the framework of our society that he is no longer quite certain of his own identity and will consequently grab at almost anything that promises to reestablish him in the eyes of his peers as belonging to the proper gender. The Indian, on the other hand, although he has in large measure been deprived of his cultural identity, still possesses in very strong degree that sense of sexual identity for which so many Whites are groping; such phrases as "A real MAN's smoke," and "Banking with a feminine touch," mean absolutely nothing to an Indian, and Indians in general are very poor targets for advertising of this sort.

Regarding Indian women (and I do my share of regarding), I believe that the Blackfoot woman of today is definitely a happier person than her White sister, and I feel sure that this same contrast existed in the old days. The Blackfoot wife was never the slave or chattel that she has been pictured as being. True, Blackfoot marriages usually were arranged affairs, but the arrangement had the same social and economic basis that most modern White marriages have, and a Blackfoot girl could refuse to accept her family's choice of husband if she wished. And a Blackfoot girl was not bought or purchased by her husband; gifts were exchanged between the suitor and the bride's family, and the more expensive the gifts the suitor could provide, the better were his chances for receiving the blessings of his future in-laws, but the final choice was up to the girl.

Certainly the Blackfoot woman was expected to do her share of work, and the classier were her domestic attainments the more desirable was she as a bride; but the teepee and its furnishings were the property of the wife, not the husband, and for good cause a Blackfoot woman could tell her husband to get out of the teepee and stay out. Even the meat that the husband provided, after the wife had turned it into dry meat or pemmican, belonged to the wife. But the Blackfoot society was structured around the family unit, and if a Blackfoot woman started to get uppity with her spouse, she darn well better have some relatives she could depend on for support.

White women generally shudder at the thought of polygamous marriage, but the Blackfoot ladies rather enjoyed the idea. There was considerable labor involved in tanning hides, building a new

54: Lancaster F-3(1958-1966)1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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want of, an apple you were going to bite into last month when the phone rang, a ½ gallon pickle jar with one pickle in it, etc. 000

In my own diggings these articles invariably gravitate mysteriously to the top of the refrigerator, of all places, but here on the ranch the general junk-magnet is the large—6 × 4—rectangular table, one long side of which is pushed against the kitchen wall beneath the window. Also pushed back against the wall is the world's most fantastic collection of lost treasure—anything, including my manuscripts, that happened to be on the table when Jim decided to set it for a meal, plus numerous things such as pliers, a file, a can of gun oil, etc., which have tottered from their rightful place on the window sill. Although this area undergoes frequent inquiry with regard to missing articles, when it comes to house-cleaning it is sacred ground and not to be defiled; you clean around it. I would most happily volunteer to clear off this portion (about ¼) of the table, but where in hell would I put all the stuff! As Jim says, "It's got to be someplace."

As I helped Jim to carry in the wood, he griped a bit about the Chief's inconsistencies, and I can't really blame him. Jim has a lot of work to do around the ranch, especially now that cold weather is approaching, and he is desperately trying to find a steady job before winter sets in. But the Chief is, after all, the Chief, and his concern is for the Blackfoots as a group, and Jimmy is required to spend a lot of time chauffeuring him around to meetings, etc. But this is the first time that I have heard Jim complain about the burden of his duties, and Jim never says a cross word to the old fellow himself. There is a great deal of genuine affection between those two, and Jimmy is certainly a loyal and dedicated son. Sometimes he even has to help the old-timer in the outhouse—and greater love hath no man. Come to think of it, the Chief must have been nearly seventy when Jim was gleamed up. Jim once mentioned that his mother died very suddenly, of some sort of internal hemorrhage. The Chief says that Jimmy's mother was the only woman he (the Chief) ever really loved, and that it took him a long, long time to find the right girl. I can certainly appreciate that. 593

The aspens are a really deep gold now, and the cottonwoods. I will surely miss this scenery. 122

Lunch was good—the meat tender and the potatoes excellent. The Chief drank of the broth. He has another cold, and this, of course, is the reason that Jim cooked the meat the way he did. I made a pot of tea and opened a can of figs. The Chief ate pretty well, but Jim's truck has another flat tire and he bolted his food and went out-

159 strict. They used to strap us all the time. I wouldn't take that now. Later, there was this one guy, Mr. _____. He used to just talk to you. He talked real good. When he talked to you, you didn't feel like cutting up or making mischief.

These girls around here, well I guess you know about them. They're always out in the bushes with these guys. At school they write letters to each other, meet at the dances. Most of them meet at the Sun Dance. They go around the camp to meet. They go around under blankets so no one can recognize them.

I've been pretty rough on the girls too. You know, go out and start wrestlin' around right away. I used to go out with this girl in Stand-off. We'd go off and she'd say, "I saw you out with that girl," and I'd say, I saw you out with that guy," and we'd fight. We'd get real jealous. But I'm not a guy who likes to fool around.

A lot of guys, they do a lot of fooling around. When they get married they remember the past and get jealous, beat up their wife. These girls, they go around with these guys, they're easy. I don't want to marry one of them. I'm not going to get married but this one girl is sure putting the pressure on me.

Last year, I had this job. Made good money. After I quit work I had $195 and was goin' to buy a car. Well, I started buying clothes, goin' to rodeos, spendin' it little by little. Well, Calgary [stampede] came along, and I went to Calgary. I had about $100 left. I came back broke. You gotta have money in Calgary but it was worth it. I don't miss the car unless I'm walkin'.

571 These are some of the influences upon the young person growing up on the Blood Reserve. One notes a strong emphasis upon interpersonal relations. And, although many of these are of an ambivalent or aggressive nature, they seem to be valued. Father, mother, sister, uncle, grandfather, and an old man are important figures in the young man's life. His cousin, demanding as he is, is also important. When the young Indian extends his quest for human

[593] [603] [605] [648]

571 contact beyond the immediate Reserve community, he runs
648 afoul of the ambivalent relations between the Blood and white communities. Both communities hold mixed feelings about one another and attempt to discourage external relations. 562 Male-female relations are tenuous. From the
593 strained relations between brother and sister to the aggressive acts between sweethearts and spouses this pattern emerges. It is a common pattern. Independent young men and women cannot easily change attitudes learned in the rough and tumble of parental marital crises and intercultural hostility.

Athletics

526 This competitive independence would have been more
[155] apparent if it were possible to include the various athletic
[555] activities engaged in by the young men. For the young Blood, these activities lead to personal achievement, and, therefore, they select activities that they do well. What the young man does well has to do with his general back-
[541] ground and the opportunities it provides. Several of the young men of the sample, brought up in a ranching or stock rearing environment, specialized in rodeo events such as calf roping and bronc riding. Others, only marginally connected with this life also chose to compete in bronc riding.
524 Many homes that are devoid of livestock sport a "bucking

626 This is important evidence for the distinction between what Indian communities expected from Indians and what they expected from others. It also indicates the reverse aspect of the "hautiness of character" delineated by Thompson, and identifies the reason that the early Blood-Blackfoot could not bear disgrace, especially in public. The preceding four quotations from Schultz indicate shame as a significant variable. Shame, as it has been developed through the preceding parts of this chapter, is strongly related to male/female [462] role differentiation. Thus, it would appear that there is [562] considerable evidence for the judgment that many of the rejected occupations have in common a confusion of or potential confusion of role identity as regards male and female identification.

● 593 This relationship appears to color other aspects of Blackfoot interests.

> "Is it because you love me no more that you tell me this?" And when I replied that I was thinking only of her comfort, she added: "I am no white woman, to be housed up, and waited on. It is my duty to go with you and do the cooking; keeping the lodge warm; do all I can to make you comfortable."52

Again the stress is on the complementary nature of male-female roles, and again the boundaries of this particular set of role expectations are set at the edge of the Indian 462 community. Particularly noteworthy in this quotation is